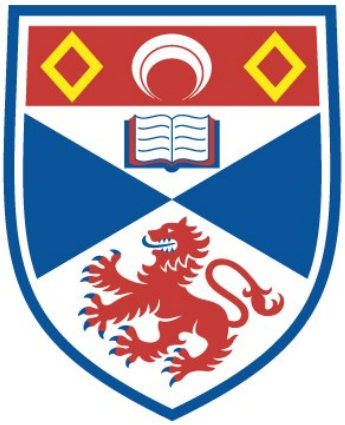
FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS AND A PRELIMINARY EXPLORATION INTO ITS POSSIBLE RELEVANCE TO LANGUAGE TEACHING, GIVEN THE SITUATION IN PAKISTAN WITH REGARD TO THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Syed Kamaluddin

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1973

FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS AND A PRELIMINARY EXPLORATION INTO ITS POSSIBLE RELEVANCE TO LANGUAGE TEACHING, GIVEN THE SITUATION IN PAKISTAN WITH REGARD TO THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.

A THESIS

PRESENTED BY

SYED KAMALUDDIN

FOR

THE DEGREE OF Ph.D.

AT

ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

February, 1973

Th 8011
~~8011~~

C O N T E N T S

Page

SECTION FOUR

C E R T I F I C A T I O N

I CERTIFY THAT Syed Kamaluddin has completed nine terms of research work in the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the condition of Resolution No.1 (1967) of the University Court, and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(Professor J.W.F. Mulder)
(Supervisor)

D E C L A R A T I O N

I, Syed Kamaluddin, hereby declare that the following is a record of research work carried out by me; that the thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for any other degree.

(Syed Kamaluddin)

St. Andrews

February, 1973

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I wish to thank Professor J.W.F. Mulder, my teacher and supervisor. I owe him an incalculable debt, because he went above and beyond the call of his duty in that he not only read many different versions of this work and offered his comments on them, but he also showed great patience and understanding generally. He has devoted many hours and much thought to discussing my work, and has at all times been willing to share his extensive knowledge with me.

I also wish to thank Dr. S.G.J. Hervey for being always ready to assist, and for reading through the final draft of this work and offering his valuable comments and remarks.

My thanks are also due to St. Andrews University Library, where the staff was always courteous and helpful to me.

I am grateful to the British Council for allowing me to stay beyond August 1969, and for being helpful in many other ways.

I am also greatly indebted to Karachi University (Pakistan) for granting me study-leave, and thereby enabling me to undertake this research.

Finally, I thank my wife for her infinite patience and forbearance all the while I was engaged in this research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.A.L.	= Centre for Applied Linguistics
C.I.L.T.	= Centre for Information on Language Teaching
C.U.P.	= Cambridge University Press
G.U.P.	= Georgetown University Press
H.M.S.O.	= Her Majesty's Stationery Office
I.R.A.L.	= International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching
M.I.T.	= Massachusetts Institute of Technology
O.U.P.	= Oxford University Press
T.C.L.P.	= Travaux de Cercle linguistique de Prague (1929 to 1939)
U.N.E.S.C.O.	= United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

My purpose in writing this thesis has been to find out what relevance functional linguistics could have to the teaching of foreign languages (i.e. any language other than the mother tongue) in general, and the teaching of the English language in Pakistan in particular.

There has always been some controversy regarding the relevance of linguistics to language teaching, and some people believe that the former has no contribution, direct or indirect, to make to the latter. There is, however, a far greater body of people who think that linguistics can indeed be relevant to the teaching of languages - both the mother tongue (hereafter referred to also with the alpha-numeric expression L-I) and the foreign language (hereafter referred to with the alpha-numeric expression L-2). This is shown by the fact that since the early 'sixties there have appeared numerous books, articles and other publications dealing with the relevance and/or application of both linguistics in general and of this or that school of linguistics in particular to language teaching.

As an example of the former, one could refer to the books by Halliday, et al[1], and Wilkins[2], which discuss the bearing that linguistics in general has to language teaching. With regard to the latter, one could refer to the book edited by Fried[3], which discusses the contribution of The Prague School of linguistics to language teaching, or, to the articles written by Fries[4], and Pincas[5], that deal with American Linguistics and Structural Linguistics respectively vis-a-vis the teaching of English. There have even been attempts to show the relevance of the transformationalist-generative school[6] to language

---

[1]M.A.K. Halliday, A. McIntosh and P.D. Strevens, The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching (London:Longmans, 1964).

[2]D.A. Wilkins, Linguistics in Language Teaching (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1972).

[3]V. Fried,(ed.), The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching (London:O.U.P., 1972).

[4]C.C. Fries, "American Linguistics and the Teaching of English", Language Learning, VI (1955), pp. 1-22.

[5]A. Pincas, "Structural Linguistics and Systematic Composition Teaching to Students of English as a Foreign Language", Language Learning, XII (1962).

[6]As would be explained later, Chomsky, the founder of this school, is himself rather sceptical of the relevance that his (or, for that matter, any) brand of linguistics can have to language teaching.

teaching: for example, Ritchie, in one of his articles[I], deals with the implications of generative grammar for the construction of English courses.

However, no one has attempted - to my knowledge, at any rate - to deal with the Functionalist School in the context of language teaching. I think that this is regrettable, because the approach of the functionalists to the study of language and to its description is extremely logical. It therefore has, in my view, a very great potential of being relevant to language teaching. After all, an important aspect of language teaching is that it is ultimately based on a description of the target language, and if a certain description of that target language is clearer and more consistent than the other descriptions, then there will be greater chances of that particular description being more useful to language teaching. Hence my attempt to deal with Functional Linguistics in the context of language teaching.

In order to make clear the framework within which I shall be working in this thesis, I should like to make the following observations:

(i) As will become clear later, by 'Functional Linguistics' I mean that particular off-shoot of the Prague School that is represented by

---

[I] W.C. Ritchie, "Some Implications of Generative Grammar for the Construction of Courses in English as a Foreign Language", Language Learning, XVII (1967), pp.45-131.

Trubetzkoy and Martinet generally, and by Mulder particularly. The latter, in fact, refers to himself also as 'axiomatic functionalist'.

(ii) As already indicated, I shall restrict myself to the consideration of the relevance of Functional Linguistics to foreign language teaching in general, and the teaching of English in Pakistan in particular. I shall do so not because I think that functional linguistics can not be relevant to the teaching of the L-I, but as it will become clear later, because the teaching of it and that of the L-2 are very different propositions from each other. Moreover, as my interest lies mainly with the teaching of foreign languages in general, and the teaching of the English Language in Pakistan in particular, I have excluded any reference, except perhaps in passing, to the problem of teaching the L-I.

(iii) I shall confine my discussion in this work to the western wing of Pakistan in general, and to Karachi, which is an important city, in particular. The main reason for doing this is my lack of first-hand knowledge of the educational set-up of East Pakistan, and of its language, Bangla. I, therefore, do not feel competent to include East Pakistan within the scope of this work.

Moreover, I shall be concerned mainly with the adult learners; that is to say, with those learners who reach the higher secondary/univ-:ersity level after they have already had some English at the secondary/primary level.

(iv) I shall ignore the recent political and military events that have created serious uncertainties with regard to the future relationship of the Bangla-speaking areas of Pakistan with the rest of the country. My reasons for doing so are, firstly, that these changes occurred a long time after I had begun my research, and, secondly, that Pakistan has so far refused to recognise 'Bangladesh', so that, at least, officially, the Bangla-speaking areas are still very much a part of Pakistan.

This thesis is divided into four sections, which are as follows;

a. The first section comprises the first two chapters. The first chapter traces, in brief, the rise of linguistics as an independent, scientific discipline; the second chapter deals with Functional Linguistics. An account is given of the Prague School, of which the Functionalist School is one of the off-shoots, and then the important tenets of Functionalism are discussed.

b. The second section surveys the linguistic situation in Pakistan, with special reference to the following four points:
(i) The linguistic situation in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent during the British rule;
(ii) The general situation concerning the position of the English language in the sub-continent until 1947;
(iii) The linguistic situation in Pakistan at the time of her birth in August 1947;
(iv) The position of the English language in Pakistan since 1947 and its future there.

c. The third section contains two chapters (i.e. IV and V), the first of which gives a brief historical sketch of foreign language teaching in Europe, followed by an account of foreign language teaching in Pakistan. The second chapter of this section deals with the methods used for foreign language teaching. A discussion of foreign language teaching methods in general terms is followed by a discussion of the methods that have been used in Pakistan for the purpose of teaching the English language.

d. The fourth, and the final section also has two chapters (i.e. VI and VII). The first of these traces in some detail the relationship that has evolved between linguists and language teachers, and deals with those aspects of linguistics about

which there is, more or less, a general agreement that they are, or can be, relevant to foreign language teaching. The last chapter sets out to examine the possibilities with regard to the relevance that Functional Linguistics can have to foreign language teaching. However, as only a 'preliminary exploration' is aimed at, the discussion in this chapter is of a rather tentative nature. That is to say, no definitive statements are made and demonstrated; instead, suggestions regarding those particular aspects of functionalism that seem to be particularly relevant to foreign language teaching are, as it were, thrown up in the hope that they would stimulate further research.

SECTION ONE

CHAPTER ONE

LINGUISTICS

General Remarks

Linguistics has been defined by Lyons[1] as "the scientific study of language", and he glosses his terms thus: "(the) investigation (of language) by means of controlled and empirically verifiable observations and with reference to some general theory of language-structure."[2] It includes the study of:

(i) one particular language, or even of one particular part of a language;

(ii) a group of languages, as for example, the Slavonic group or the Romance group;

(iii) language in general[3].

The study of language is in fact nothing new; it is as old as civilization, and it has been an important feature of the intellectual activity of such diverse civilizations as India in the East and Greece and Rome in the West. Thus, for example, in India, there was the

---

[1] A more rigorous definition of 'linguistics' will be given later, when we come to discuss it in greater detail. At this point, only a general introduction to the discipline is aimed at, and it is, therefore, felt that Lyons' definition would suffice.

[2] J. Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (London: C.U.P., 1968), p.1.

[3] The term 'language' is intended here to be interpreted in a rather intuitive way. It will also be further discussed and clarified later.

grammatical tradition that is now generally associated with the name of Pāṇini (about fourth century B.C.), who was perhaps the greatest of all ancient Indian grammarians. Pāṇini, whom Bloomfield described as "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence"[1], is regarded as having given a "most marvellously succinct and definitive"[2] and as yet unrivalled description of classical Sanskrit. At about the same time (i.e. fourth century B.C.), in the West, Plato initiated the discussion about the fundamental issues connected with language. These discussions were continued by Aristotle, the Stoics, Cicero, etc.

As far as is known, the classical Indian and the classical Western studies of language originated and developed independent of each other. This, however, does not mean that there were no points of similarity between the two. In fact, as Professor Lyons has pointed out[3], there were many such points.

The Indian grammatical tradition was, however, destined to exercise a very significant and far-reaching effect on Western scholarship, once the latter had become acquainted

---

[1]L. Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933), p.11.

[2]J.T. Waterman, Perspectives in Linguistics (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), p.3.

[3]J. Lyons, op.cit., pp.19-20.

with the former towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The influence of the Indian tradition was not confined to the last century alone, when, as is generally conceded, it directly contri-:buted to the development of comparative philology, but, again as Lyons points out[I], it has persisted even to this day.

There were two men, who were mainly responsible for introducing the West to Sanskrit, to Pāṇini and to the Indian grammatical tradition in general. One of these men was Sir William Jones, a British colonial officer in India. Sir William was keenly interested in the classical Sanskrit language, and he, therefore, made arrangements to learn it once he was in India. After he had learned the language, he found that it had such a close affinity with Latin, Greek and Germanic languages that this affinity could not be dismissed as being merely accidental. He, therefore, concluded that these European languages were related to Sanskrit. He put forward these ideas of his in a paper in 1786 that he read to a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta. In this paper, he said: "The Sanskrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than

---

[I] Ibid., p.20.

either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident; so strong that no philologer could examine the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic had the same origin with the Sanskrit."[1]

Sir William's ideas were revolutionary enough, but as he had revealed them in the East, they could not become popularly available in the West for quite some time. It was, therefore, left to Franz Bopp (1791-1867) to ultimately spark off an interest in Sanskrit and the Indian grammatical tradition in the West by his pioneering work[2] that compared the conjugation system of Sanskrit with those of Greek, Latin, Persian and German.

Writing about the importance of the 'discovery' of Sanskrit for European linguistics, Dinneen has this to say:

---

[1] Quoted here from R.H. Robins, A Short History of Linguistics (London:Longmans, 1967), p.134.

[2] F.Bopp, Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenen der griechischen, lateinischen, Persischen und germanischen Sprache. Nebst Episoden des Ramajan und Mahabharat in genauen metrischen Übersetzungen., und einigen Abschnitten aus den Veda's (Frankfurt am main, 1816).

"At that point Europe was on the threshold of the single discovery that was to revolutionize language description as well as thinking concerning how languages are related."[1]

The strong interest that the West had always taken in the study of language made it inevitable for 'structural linguistics' - or, simply 'linguistics' as it is more commonly called now - to be influenced by, and indebted to, what had preceded it in the field of language study. There are nonetheless some crucial differences between the study of language as it is carried out now by linguistics and as it was carried out before the emergence of linguistics. I shall refer to the latter as 'pre-structural linguistics'. (It is obviously an oversimplification to talk of 'pre-structural linguistics' as if it had a mono-:lithic character which could be studied under a single heading; it was nothing of the sort. However, as my purpose in this thesis is not to deal with the history of linguistics as such at length, I will, for the sake of convenience, take the phrase as referring to the study of language as it was pursued during the fifty years or so that preceded the publication of de Saussure's Cours.

In what follows, I shall first discuss, briefly and critically, the main features of pre-structural linguistics. I shall then go on to deal with linguistics in greater detail.

---

[1] F.P. Dinneen, An Introduction to General Linguistics (New York:Holt,Rinehart and Winston,Inc.,1967),p.180.

Pre-Structural Linguistics

The pre-structural linguistics was largely subjective, basing its analysis on 'meaning' or on pure intuition rather than on form. This practice of treating the internal, formal patterns as subordinate to, and defined by, the external contextual patterns made it difficult to talk usefully or accurately about language. This resulted in excessive vagueness. A noun was, for example, defined as the 'name of a place, person or a thing'. Or to take another example, the voiceless unaspirated sounds p,t,k, of the Thai language were described thus in a text book written for Europeans:

k = 3/4 G and 1/4 k

t = mean between the sounds of T and D

p = 2/3 P and 1/3 B[I]

The pre-structural linguistics also generally failed to make a clear distinction between different levels of linguistic analysis. These 'levels of analysis' are in fact different points of view (i.e. the point of view of phonology, of morphology, of syntax, etc.) from which the

---

[I] B.O. Cartwright, The Students' Manual of the Siamese Language (Bangkok, 1930). (Quoted here from Mary Haas' article "The Linguist as a Teacher of Language", Language, XIX (1943), pp. 203-208.

same linguistic material is analyzed. A mixing up of these levels by pre-structural linguistics inevitably led to confusion, because after all what was, say, 'same' from the point of view of syntax, was not necessarily so from the point of view of phonology, etc.

Another distinguishing feature of pre-structural linguistics was its strong, and often almost exclusive bias in favour of diachronic and comparative analyses, which were generally carried out before adequate synchronic descriptions had been made. As Robins has pointed out, this view of pre-structural linguistics is "broadly justified, but it does not mean either that no historical research based on the comparison of languages was undertaken before that time or that all other aspects of linguistics were neglected... . It is, however, the case that ... the greatest concentration of scholarly effort and scholarly ability in linguistics was devoted to this aspect of the subject rather than to others."[I]

The extent of this diachronic bias could be seen from the remark made by Herman Paul - perhaps the most important representative of the linguistics of the period under consideration - who, according to Vachek, held that

---

[I] R.H. Robins, op.cit., p.164.

"Scientific, i.e. historical, grammar was strictly opposed to "merely" descriptive, practical treatment of language facts."[1]

The diachronic bias referred to above resulted in a fragmentary account of the language being described, disregarding more or less completely the system as a whole.

The pre-structural linguistics confused grammar with logic. It held that language had a basis in logic, and this 'logicality', though present in Greek as well, could be seen in its purest form in Latin. The latter, it was further held, achieved this logical treatment of ideas through the use of a certain grammatical system. This led pre-structural linguistics into the mistaken belief that the grammatical system as found in Latin was indis-pensable for logical and rational thought. It, therefore, tried to fit the grammar of other languages into the mould of Latin grammar, and, if some differences still remained, it (i.e. pre-structural linguistics) imputed these to the decline of the language in question instead of recognizing the fact that every language is unique.

The pre-structural linguistics favoured the written language, especially that of literature, and almost completely ignored the spoken language. This resulted

---

[1] J. Vachek., The Linguistic School of Prague (Bloomington: Indiana: University Press, 1966), p.16.

in a neglect of unselfconscious natural speech. Moreover, the analysis of primarily literary forms of the language by pre-structural linguistics led it to emphasise much that was untypical even of the written language.

Furthermore, pre-structural linguistics followed the prescriptive or normative rather than descriptive methods in describing a language. This meant that a language was described not - not necessarily at any rate - as it actually was, but as it was thought it should be in the light of the prevalent norms and standards. This often led to descriptions that presented a distorted picture of the language involved.

Finally, pre-structural linguistics lacked autonomy as it was usually subservient to the requirements of such other studies as logic, rhetoric, history, philosophy, literary criticism, etc. In other words, language was, to a large extent, not studied for its own sake, but for the purpose of illuminating this or that aspect of other disciplines. One consequence of this lack of autonomy of language study was that it was seldom, if ever,possible to get a description that was both accurate and complete.

Structural Linguistics

From the brief and sketchy account of the pre-structural linguistics that has just been given, it is possible to distinguish three main features that characterised it. Robins has summed up these features as follows: "the continuing tradition of grammatical and other linguistic work that had been carried on by European scholars in different ways since antiquity, the progressive appreciation of Indian linguistic scholarship, especially in phonetics and phonology, and the assimilation of linguistic science, specifically as a historically orientated science, to certain general nineteenth-century attitudes, comparatism, evolutionism, and the positivism of the natural sciences."[1]

This approach to the study of language, however, began to be challenged towards the end of the nineteenth century, and, by the early decades of this century, linguistics was finally placed on a footing that clearly had a scientific bias, if it were not fully scientific yet. The man most responsible for finally affecting this change - or, "Copernican revolution"[2], as Verburg put it - in the approach of linguistics to the study of language was

---

[1] R.H. Robins, op.cit. p.198.

[2] P.A. Verburg, "The Background to the Linguistic Conceptions of Bopp," Lingua, II (1950), p.441.

Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). He was the first linguist to formulate ideas that clearly marked a definite break from the 'Junggramatiker' tradition, even though, up to that time, he had been an important member of the movement himself, and had, in fact, made himself known to scholarship through an important contribution to Indo-European comparative linguistics.[1]

The 'Junggramatiker', or Neogrammarians, were a group of scholars who flourished in, and whose influence spread from, Germany after 1875. The cardinal belief of this group was that every historical sound change occurred according to rules, or the so-called sound laws, which suffered no exceptions. They also proposed that the living language should be accorded greater emphasis than had hitherto been the case, but the Neogrammarians in fact occupied themselves mostly with 'dead' languages and with the reconstruction of 'proto-languages'.

The Neogrammarians maintained that the only scientific way of studying language was to examine it dischronically[2]. De Saussure rejected this claim, and, instead, maintained that there were two fundamental and indispensable dimensions- that were both autonomous as well as interdependent - of linguistic study. These dimensions, each of which involved its own methods and principles, were "synchronic, in which

---

[1] F.de Saussure, Memoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européenes (Leipzig, 1879).

[2] See, for example, Herman Paul's claim in this respect, p.15.

languages are treated as self-contained systems of communication at any particular time, and diachronic, in which the changes to which languages are subjected in the course of time are treated historically."[1] De Saussure tried to illustrate this distinction between the synchronic and the diachronic approach to the study of language by giving the example of the different types of information that are yielded by the horizontal and the transversal sections respectively of a plant's stem. The horizontal cut lays bare the state of the stem as it exists at a given time by exposing the set of cells, rings and fibres that can be compared and that are distinguishable from each other because of their place in the surface. There is no need of having a knowledge of the previous history of the 'structure' before we can study it intelligently and usefully. Similarly, when one studies a language from a synchronic point of view, one does not have to have a knowledge of its previous history in order to study the structure of the particular stage of the language.

The transversal section reveals a different kind of picture, which corresponds to the "historical development of a single set of units in the synchronic state."[2] That is to say, when a language is studied from the diachronic point of view, one is able to get a picture of only isolated

---

[1] R.H. Robins, op.cit.,p.200.

[2] F.P. Dinneen, op.cit., p.200.

items of that language as they have developed through ages.

De Saussure, however, did not think that both the dimensions of linguistic study mentioned above are of equal importance. He believed that the synchronic approach is of greater importance than the diachronic one, because in the latter "one no longer observes language but rather a series of events that modify it."[I] In view of this greater importance that de Saussure attributes to the synchronic study of language, he thinks it essential that in order to make the historical study of a language really worthwhile, it should be preceded by an accurate synchronic study of the different stages of the language involved.

De Saussure also made a sharp distinction between la langue, la parole, and le langage. Of these three, he regarded only the first (namely, la langue) as being the proper field of study, because while the other two were either not 'social facts' at all (e.g. la parole) or were a combination of 'social facts' and their individual manifes-:tations (e.g. le langage). Only la langue is the 'social fact', pure and simple.

The greatness of de Saussure lies not in the fact that what he said more than fifty years ago has remained unchall-:enged; the fact of the matter is that, as behoves any

---

[I] F.de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, (ed.) C. Bally and A. Sechehaye,(trans.)Wade Baskin,(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.,1966) p. 80.

discipline which is alive and dynamic, most of de Saussure's ideas and concepts have undergone either a complete change, or else, have been greatly modified. He was, in other words, more of a seminal thinker than an authoritative one. His posthumous work[1] which was assembled from the lecture notes of his students, is the "source of most of the basic principles which distinguish modern linguistics from the comparative historical linguistics of the 19th century."[2]

In the beginning of this Chapter I referred to the definition of linguistics as given by Lyons, and I said at that stage that a more rigorous definition would be given later. We could now do that, and define linguistics as a discipline that provides theories that make possible the description of speech phenomena. The following points may be noted in connection with this definition:

(i) Linguistics as a whole is no longer a small, well-defined, homogeneous subject. It has, in fact, become so vast and heterogeneous that it is no longer operationally useful for many linguistic purposes - descriptive, comparative and pedagogical. Linguistics is, therefore, generally used as a cover-term for such inter-dependent but distinguishable sub-disciplines as general linguistics, comparative linguistics, descrip-:tive linguistics, etc., which concentrate on the study

---

[1] F. de Saussure, Cours de Linguistique Générale,(ed.) C. Bally and A. Sechehaye,(Payot:Paris, 1949).

[2] B.Malmberg,New Trends in Linguistics;An Orientation,(trans.) E.Carney, (Stockholm, 1964), p.37.

of various aspects of language.

One also calls the application of a linguistic theory in description 'linguistics'. One can distinguish between the two by calling the former 'theoretical linguistics' and the latter 'descriptive linguistics' but this is generally unnecessary as usually the context will make clear what is meant. At any rate, in the daily work of a theoretical linguist, the two are usually intricately mixed, as he has to keep a constant check on the adequacy of his theory in respect to linguistic description;

(ii) This is essentially Mulder's definition as it emerged from his lectures at St. Andrews (1969-1970);

(iii) In the light of this definition, Transform-:ational-Generative Grammar, which focuses on the intuition of the 'native speaker', i.e. on the intuition about speech phenomena rather than on the speech phenomena themselves, will have to be regarded as falling outside the main-stream of modern linguistics;

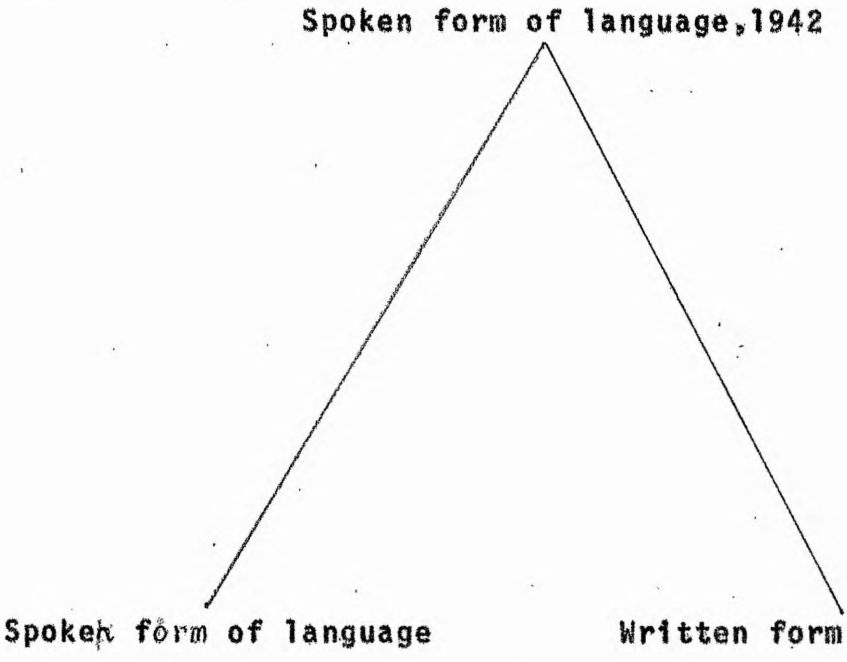
(iv) The use of the phrase 'speech phenomena' is intended to stress the disapproval of the rather vague, and sometimes, even misleading use of the term 'language'. Some people, for example, regard 'language' as a 'social phenomenon'; this is too vague a concept to be considered with any rigour. Others regard it as the 'structure' appertaining to the speech phenomena. This structure, I would agree with Mulder (1968), pertains to the description and not to the object to be described. Lastly, some linguists regard it as something in the speaker's and hearer's

mind. This may be a valuable point, but it can not be the object of a non-psychologically based linguistics, though it may be an interesting object of study for psycholinguistics.

In their study of language, linguists (i.e. those whose field of speciality is the discipline of linguistics. The term is never used in this work in its older sense, which regarded 'linguist' as referring to someone who knew many languages. The term 'polyglot' is used for the latter.) adopt as far as possible an objective approach, and avoid making value judgements of any kind. For example, in describing modern English, a linguist, would simply note that different forms like 'I can not ' and 'I can't ' or 'It's me' and 'It's I' exist, and that in certain circumstances one form may be more appropriate than the other. In other words, linguists avoid being prescriptive.

As a reaction both to prescriptive inclinations of earlier linguistics, and to the fact that traditional grammar was based almost exclusively on the written form of language, modern linguistics concentrates on the study of spoken rather than on that of the written form of language. An added reason for this attitude is the fact that the spoken form generally is considered a richer medium than the written one. This makes the study of the former somewhat more interesting than that of the latter.

Justification given by linguists for the attitude mentioned above often points to the primacy of the spoken form over the written form. I agree with Mulder that this is a purely diachronic matter. The diachronic nature of such a distinction can be exemplified diagrammatically thus:



That is, a language A existed only in spoken form in 1942. As a result of certain developments, the same - diachronically speaking - language now exists both in spoken as well as written modes. Synchronically speaking, however, both differ from the original, and they differ from each other. From a strictly synchronic point of view, it is irrelevant whether or not language A existed in both written and spoken modes; what interests a linguist <u>per se</u> is the

mode, or the modes, in which language A exists at the time when its description is undertaken.

That the spoken and the written forms of, say, English are, objectively speaking, two different systems altogether, can be shown by the following:

(i) The spoken form is essentially a medium involving a two-way communication, whereas the written form is essentially a skill performing a one-way communication;

(ii) The spoken and the written forms do not follow the same set of conventions, and do not fulfil the same set of purposes;

(iii) The spoken form is temporary and unstable[I]; the written form is stable and fixed, and has the characteristics of documentation;

(iv) The spoken form is all too often characterized by incomplete sentences, pleonastic utterances, link-phrases, strictly phonological media, such as intonation, melody, pitch, pause and rhythmic articulation, facial expressions, gestures, etc.; these have no counterparts in the written form. The latter is characterized by well-formed and complete sentences, and redundant expressions are the exception rather than the rule;

(v) One can read and understand a written text

[I] This, of course, does not include recorded speech. However, as I am here concerned with the 'primary' manifestation of the spoken form, I think I can safely leave recorded speech out of consideration.

without having the faintest idea of its phonic form. This was, for example, the case with a vast majority of the people who learned Latin in, say, Britain. Similarly, one can speak, and be spoken to, and understand a language without being able to write it. This is the case with people who are illiterate;

(vii) Homophones may have different written forms, but their spoken forms are the same. For example, the written forms 'rite, right, write and wright' are all pronounced as /rait/. On the other hand 'similar' written forms may correspond to different spoken forms. For example, 'read' and its past tense 'read', though having the same written forms, are pronounced differently, as /rid/ and /red/ respectively;

(viii) The processes involved in learning the written and the spoken forms of language are also different. The former is regarded as being more difficult to learn than the latter. According to Vygotskiy, in order to write, one must do at least three things;

(a) abstract oneself from the spoken form, imagine the latter, and replace spoken words by their images;

(b) imagine the situation in which one is communic-:ating, with none of the encouragement and feed-back provided by an immediate interlocutor;

(c) (in the case of alphabetic type of writing systems) analyze the spoken form in terms of the sound structure of the individual words and the sequence of words within a

sentence[I].

I do not agree with the way Vygotskiy puts his ideas, but I would accept part of it as I believe I can perhaps agree with the essence of his argument, namely, that the 'mode of functioning' of the written form differs from that of the spoken form and demands greater abstraction and imagination on the part of the learner.

A mention has already been made of the drastic way in which linguists like de Saussure reacted to the tradition which held that the only scientific way of studying language was to examine it historically. The alternative that de Saussure proposed has also been noted. One effect of his bias in favour of a synchronic approach to the study of languages was that linguists who came in his wake tended to concentrate on the synchronic aspect and neglect the diachronic one. This imbalance has been somewhat corrected in recent years.

As a result of reaction against another tradition of the pre-structural linguistics, there is generally a great emphasis in linguistics on the description of all types (i.e. levels or 'registers') of the given language, not just on literary or formal styles. Without such an all-round description, it is not possible to get a complete picture of the language being described.

[I] L.S.Vygotskiy, Thought and Language (ed. and trans.) E. Hanfmann and G.Vakar (Mass.:M.I.T.Press, 1965).

Moreover, there is also a very great insistence in linguistics on employing only linguistic criteria (i.e. criteria arising solely out of the nature of language) in describing language. The use of criteria from other aspects of human behaviour (such as logic, aesthetics or literary excellence) to exploit points of usage etc. is not permitted.

There was also a reaction against the nineteenth century practice of making no distinction between different levels (i.e. phonological, grammatical, etc.) of linguistic analysis. Many of the modern schools of linguistics insist on such a distinction.

One of the chief aims of linguistics is to give rigorous definition of units of analysis. As Levin has pointed out, "What we call them (i.e. parts of speech) is unimportant. The important thing is the way we have defined them. We have defined them (noun etc.) in a way that makes it possible for anyone knowing the definition to determine whether a given word in English is a noun or not"[1]. Moreover, linguistics also tries to systematize the observations it makes about a language by relating them all to a linguistic theory devised for the purpose. In other words, a linguist is one who "notes, collects and methodizes (my italics)"[2]

---

[1] S.R.Levin, "Comparing Traditional and Structural Grammar", Readings in Applied English Linguistics, (ed.) H.B.Allen, (sec.ed; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofton, Inc. 1964), pp.46-55.

[2] F.P. Dinneen, op.cit., p.164.

the data that he actually finds.

Linguistics has formulated a number of assumptions about the characteristics of language, and the most important ones of these are as follows:

LANGUAGE IS ARBITRARY: that is to say, there is no direct, necessary connection between the linguistic symbols and the 'meaning' they convey. The latter is in fact determined by convention. It is precisely this character-:istic that permits the existence in the world of so many mutually unintelligible languages. If languages were not arbitrary we would not have, for example, different expres-:sions for "dog" in German ('hund'), French ('chien'), Spanish ('perro'), Arabic (/kʌlb/), Persian (/sʌg/) and Urdu (/kutta/).

It is sometimes suggested that the existence of onomatopoeic words (i.e. words whose 'sound echoes the sense') invalidates this assumption. This criticism is itself not really valid, because in no language do these onomatopoeic words total more than a tiny fraction of the total vocabulary. Furthermore, the occurrence of such onomatopoeic words is, itself, not dictated by any kind of necessity, but is, once again, arbitrary.

LANGUAGE IS UNIQUE: Closely associated with the fore-:going assumption is the belief in the uniqueness of each language. The implication of this belief is that in order to get a clear and accurate picture of a given language,

each one must be described in its own right.

LANGUAGE IS SYSTEMATIC: that is to say, it is possible to describe a given language in terms of a finite number of units that can combine only in a limited number of ways. For example, in English there are stringent limit-:ations on the number of consonants that can occur either alone or in clusters in any position. If all possible sequences of one, two or three consonants occurred as 'onsets' (i.e. at the beginning of a word), there would be a total of 14,425 different onsets. But this is not so, and in actual fact English has less than one hundredd onsets[1].

LANGUAGE IS A SYSTEM OF SYSTEMS:[2,3] that is, it is possible to distinguish within the system of language a number of sub-systems such as phonological, grammatical, etc. All these sub-systems operate simultaneously, but one can distinguish, for the sake of analysis, the units and combinatory rules proper to each. Dinneen illustrates this point by saying, "Speakers of English would probably discuss the examples involving table and stable and their

---

[1]C.F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York: Cromwell Collier and Macmillan,Inc.,1958), p.86.

[2]V.V. Vinogradov was the first linguist to use this phrase, in a lecture in Prague in 1957.

[3]This is in actual fact due to the way 'linguistics' has developed into bodies of 'theory' that have such a structure. I shall, however, here ignore the theoretical controversies involved in this question.

permissible forms in terms of two kinds of reasoning. For example, they might say that there is no such word as gstables and that it is not grammatical to put another suffix after the -s of stables."[1]

---

[1] F.P. Dinneen, op.cit., p.8.

CHAPTER TWO

FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

Background

The use of the term 'functional' (and/or'functionalist') in the context of language study is not entirely new: we find, for example, that it was used to describe a particular approach to the study of language - the 'functional grammar movement' - that rose to prominence in the 1930's.M. Shatluck and W. Barnes[1], the foremost exponents of this movement, held that the teaching of formal grammar merited little attention. They believed that grammar should be taught not only *for* use but *through* use. Another example that can be quoted in this connection is that of the Prague School. This School claimed for itself the epithets of both 'structuralist' (thereby pointing out that no element of language can be duly evaluated if considered in isolation from the other elements of the same language) and 'functionalist' (thereby pointing out that a given item of language "exists solely because it serves some purpose, because

---

[1] M. Shatluck and W. Barnes, *The Situation as Regards English*, (Washington D.C.: Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association, 1936).

it has some function (mostly that of communication) to fulfil."[1])

However, the term 'Functional Linguistics', as used in this work, refers to that school of linguistics which holds as its basic tenet the concept of all linguistic elements being 'functional', i.e. being "separately relevant to the purport of the whole of which it is a part."[2] This tenet is closely linked with the Saussurian, and also Prague School, dictum that language is a system of oppositions. The other important tenet of the School is the concept of the double articulation of language, i.e. articulation into "elements which have both form and meaning" and into "elements which have only form."[3]

The Functionalist School is a development within the tradition of Trubetzkoy[4] rather than Jakobson[5].

---

[1] J. Vachek, The Linguistic School of Prague (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p.7.

[2] J. W. F. Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology (London: O.U.P., 1968), p.10.

[3] Ibid.

[4] N. Trubetzkoy, Principles of Phonology, (trans.) C.A.M. Baltaxe, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1969).

5 R. Jakobson and M. Halle, Fundamentals of Language (The Hague: Mouton, 1956).

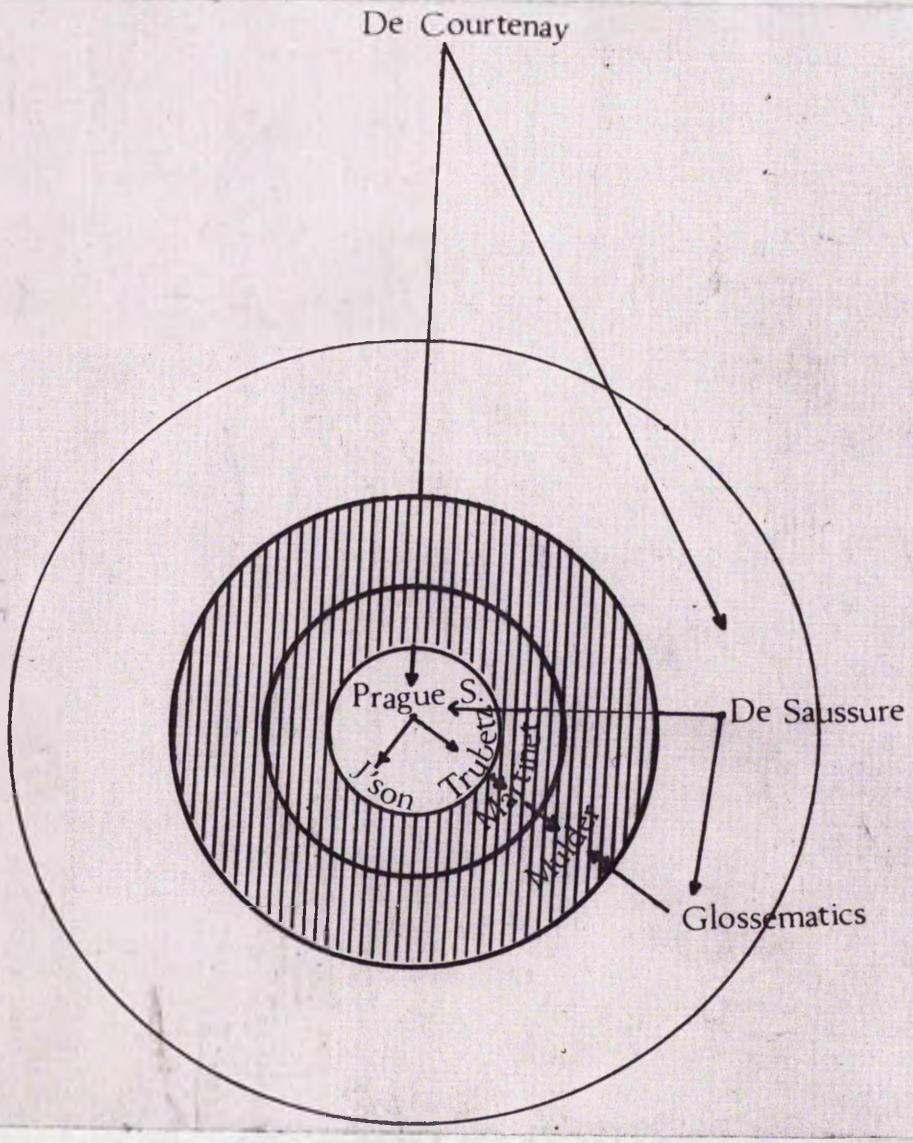
The modern functionalism, strongly represented by linguists such as Martinet, is also referred to as the 'structural realist' or 'neo-Prague' School.[1] These epithets describing this particular, recent approach to the study of language are, in a way, very revealing, because they indicate that the main origins of the School are to be found in the structural approach to the study of language as it was practised by the Prague School. The latter, in addition to de Saussure and, to some extent, Hjelmslev, had in fact implied this functional principle, more or less clearly, but it was not until Martinet, who worked out Trubetzkoy's principles further, that the functionalist ideas were explicitly made the cornerstone of a linguistic approach. And to this extent Functional Linguistics could be regarded as a rather recent development.

We have already hinted at the main influences on what we have called the Functionalist School; these

---

[1] J. W. F. Mulder, op. cit., p.19.

influences, along with other less direct but significant ones, can be schematized as follows;



The diagram above represents functionalism in a wider sense: functionalism in its narrower sense is represented by the shaded area. One might call Baudouin de Courtenay the fore-runner, or even the father, of functionalism, but de Saussure, perhaps the father of all "hues of structural-:ism"[I] in linguistics, has been

---

[I] J.J. Waterman, op.cit.,p.66

an even greater influence. In fact, de Saussure's dictum that in language "il n'y a que des différences"[1] is the main pillar on which functionalism is built.

However, the greatest and the most direct influence on functionalism is that of early Prague School[2]. There have emerged two main offshoots of Prague School, one represented by Nikolaj Trubetzkoy (1890-1939), and the other by Roman Jakobson (b.1896), and it is the former that has particularly influenced functionalism. As is shown in the diagram given on the preceding page, in its narrower sense the Functionalist School is typified by Martinet who has remained within the Trubetzkoyan stream of the School. A further development within Functionalism in the narrower sense is to be found in the work of Mulder. The greatest influence on Mulder has been the teaching of Martinet, but he seems also to have been influenced by Louis Hjelmslev. The main difference between Mulder and other neo-Prague linguists lies in the almost

---

[1] F. de Saussure, op.cit.,p.166.

[2] i.e. 1926 to 1939. This is also sometimes referred to as the classical period of the Prague School.

mathematical rigour of the former's approach, and in Mulder's introduction of some new concepts and distinctions, such as those of the 'distributional unit' (already conceived, but not fully developed by Trubetzkoy), 'position' and a distinction between 'paradigmemes' and 'syntagmemes".

It is this version by Mulder of functionalism (which is also referred to as "axiomatic functionalism") that I have taken as the basis of this work. However, in view of the great influence which the Prague School had on the Functionalist School in general, I shall give in the following section a very brief and sketchy outline of the most important and fundamental of those tenets of the Prague School that, I think, have a direct relevance to the Functionalist School. I shall then go on to deal with Mulder's approach in detail. (It must be pointed out that, as a matter of fact, there was no unanimity in the Prague School as such. It was rather a conglomerate of various ideas. Yet these different ideas could co-exist and develop because all members of the School conjointly followed certain basic tenets and methodological assumptions).

THE PRAGUE SCHOOL

The Prague School is characterized by two basic features - the structural principle and the functional principle. The former lays down that language is "a system whose component parts are mutually interrelated in various ways and at the same time condition one another."[1] On a very general level, the term 'function' can be said to mean "task, ends, purpose, etc." However, one can make further distinctions on the basis of, (a) the variety of contexts in which the term 'function' can occur (one can, for example, speak of "function of language", "function of an utterance", "function of a phoneme", etc.), and (b) the opposition - or the lack of it - to terms as "means", "form", etc. In other words, 'function' can sometimes refer to something extra-lingual (as, for example, in the case of "function of language", "function of utterance", etc.) and at other times to something intra-lingual (as, for example, in the case of "function of a unit of language", etc.)

---

[1] B. Havránek, et al., Sbornik otvetov na voprosy po jazykoznaniju k IV Mezdunarodnomu s'jezdu slavistov (Moskva, 1958), pp.50-53. (Here quoted from Vachek's translation in A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, 1964,p.463.)

One consequence of the great emphasis laid on the functional principle was that the Prague scholars, in their study of language, began to proceed from 'function' to 'form'. In the traditional method of linguistic research, it may be noted, the procedure was to take the 'form' - as the thing known - as the starting point, and then proceed with attempts to establish the 'meaning' or 'function' of it. Put in another way, it can be said that the traditional, formal method was (reader) hearer-orientated. The Prague scholars discarded the (reader) hearer-orientated approach in the favour of (writer) speaker-orientated one. That is to say, the Prague scholars took 'meaning' or 'function' as their starting point; they then proceeded to find out the 'form' in which it was expressed[I].

The distinction between 'langue' and 'parole' that de Saussure maintained was regarded by Prague scholars as not being particularly useful. Moreover,

---

[I] This is, of course, a gross over-simplification. Some Prague scholars tried to unite the two approaches, and Jakobson in particular can be said to be very much hearer-orientated. But typically he represents a much less functional-based approach than Trubetzkoy.

not all of them accepted de Saussure's claim that 'langue' rather than 'parole' was the proper field of interest for linguists. As Vachek has pointed out, the "opinions have been divided in Prague as to the necessity of the concept of parole; the majority of the Prague linguists admit only the existence of concrete spoken utterances implementing langue, not the existence of an abstract parole superimposed on them."[1]

The Prague School only partially accepted the importance of a synchronic approach to the study of language as propounded by de Saussure. It, in fact, accepted neither the mutual exclusiveness of synchronic and diachronic approaches, nor de Saussure's assertion that a synchronic study of language is more important than, and primary to, a diachronic one.

Actually, the first open break with the Saussurian tenet of the mutual exclusiveness of the diachronic and synchronic approaches to the study of language was heralded in 1928, when Trubetzkoy, Jakobson and Karcevskij presented a manifesto to the First International Congress

---

[1] J. Vachek, The Linguistic School of Prague (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966) pp.18-19.

of Linguists at the Hague. In this manifesto it was maintained that phonological methods are theoretically just as applicable to diachronic as to synchronic studies. The works of Jakobson and Martinet, currently two of the most prominent linguists of Praguean persuation, contain topics which deal both with the synchronic and the diachronic aspects of language.

The Prague School distinguishes, within the system of language as a whole, a number of sub-systems - phonic, syntactic, etc. - or levels, each of which has its own peculiar structure, and, consequently, its own specific structural problems. The Prague scholars, however, do not subscribe to the excessive insistence of the Bloomfieldians on what Pike has called "compartmentalisation"[1] because they (i.e. the Prague scholars) believe that such a rigid and water-tight separation of levels, which does not take into account their mutual link and dependence leads one to believe, erroneously, that language is a sum of all these levels, obtained by adding them all up.

---

[1] K.L. Pike, "Interpretation of Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax", Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1957), p.3[illegible].

The Prague School paid especially great attention to the study of the phonic level of language. In fact the founders of this School[1] called their approach 'phonology', which they defined as "that part of linguistics which deals with phonic phenomena from the viewpoint of their function in language."[2] Or, to express it differently, the Prague School defined phonology as "functional phonetics".[3] Perhaps the reason why phonology received such an exclusive attention from the Prague scholars was their belief in the comparative simplicity of the phonic level of language, which did not present the problems of intricate relations of both 'expression' (signifiant) and 'content' (signifié) found in other levels. It, in other words, enabled the Prague scholars to test their 'new' methods on a less complicated level before dealing with the more complicated ones. (This imbalance has somewhat been corrected in recent times by the various offshoots of the Prague School, which are now increasingly paying greater attention to the study of other aspects of language as well.)

---

[1] For example: V. Mathesius (1882-1942), N. Trubetzkoy, R. Jakobson, S.I. Karcevskij (1887-1955).

[2] Quoted here from J. Vachek; op. cit., pp.40-41.

[3] e.g. see: A. Martinet, Phonology as Functional Phonetics, (London: O.U.P., 1955)

A very important feature of Prague phonology was its concept of 'phoneme'. The greatest influence on the evolution of this concept was that of de Saussure, who held that 'phonemes' are not characterized by their positive qualities, but by negative ones: "Les phonèmes sont avant tout les entités oppositives, relatives et negatives."[1] The various stages of development that the Prague School concept of 'phoneme' underwent can be seen in the series of definitions which were given by the Prague scholars at various times, either collectively or individually.

The earliest definition of 'phoneme' was contained in the collective theses prepared by the joint co-operation of the members of the Prague Linguistic Circle and presented to the First International Congress of Slavicists at Prague in 1929. This definition was: "des images acoustico-motrices les plus simples et significatives dans une langue donnée" (i.e. "the simplest acoustic and motor (articulatory) images having some significance in a given language."[2])

---

[1] F. de Saussure, op. cit., p.164.

[2] The translation of the original French definition is quoted here from Vachek, op. cit., p.44.

This definition clearly shows the psychologistic approach of the old associationist and atomistic type of both Jan Baudouin de Courtenay and L.V. Ščerba to the concept. The former, it may be noted, defined 'phoneme' (in 1895) as "a physical image of a sound,"[1] while the latter was the first to emphasise the distinctive function of phonemes.[2]

The 1931 definition of 'phoneme' as "a phonological unit not dissociable into smaller and simpler phonological units"[3] stressed - wrongly, as it turned out later - the indivisibility of phonemes. Jakobson, in 1932, defined 'phoneme' as "a set of those concurrent sound properties which are used in a given language to distinguish words of unlike meaning."[4]

---

[1] This definition was contained in de Courtenay's Polish monograph entitled "Proba teorji alternacyj fonetycznych" (Cracow, 1894). The quotation here is from Vachek, op. cit., p.44.

[2] See, J. Vachek, op. cit., p.44.

[3] This definition was contained in "Projet de la terminologie phonologique standardisée," T.C.L.P., IV (1931), p.309. Here it is quoted from Vachek, op. cit., p.45.

[4] R. Jakobson, "Phoneme and Phonology," Selected Writings, I, ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962), p.231.

In 1936, 'phoneme' was defined as "a part of the member of the complex phonological opposition, a part which may be dissociated into simultaneous but not successive phonological units."[1] Finally, in 1939, Trubetzkoy defined "phoneme' as those phono--ogical units "that, from the standpoint of a given language, cannot be analysed into still smaller successive distinctive units ... phoneme is the smallest distinctive unit of a given language."[2]

Thus from the definitions given above, it becomes clear that the concept of 'phoneme' as a bundle of simultaneous features was being accepted more or less unanimously by the Prague scholars as early as the mid-'thirties. Such a bundle was originally thought of as being 'indivisible'. It is essentially this view point of looking at the concept of 'phoneme' that, as we shall see later, the functionalists have taken up and developed further.

---

[1] J. Vachek, "Phonemes and Phonological Units," A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, J. Vachek (ed.), (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), pp.143-149).

[2] N. Trubetzkoy, op. cit., p.35.

Another important contribution of the Prague School was the introduction of the concept of 'archi-phoneme'. This concept was originally bound to that of 'correlation'. That is to say, only those phoneme pairs which formed members of correlation or which were considered as being differentiated by the presence or absence of a property, could have a corresponding archiphoneme.

Thus, in its original form, the idea of an 'archi-phoneme' comprised of: (a) the common core of a phoneme pair not differentiated by more than one property, and (b) the common core of more than one phoneme pair, in which each phoneme pair was differentiated by one property from the next phoneme pair.

It is interesting to note that Jakobson, who proposed the term 'archiphoneme' for the concept and who was the first to define it - as "the common element of two or more correlative phonemes, an element which can be conceived by way of abstracting the correlative qualities."[1] - abandoned the concept in his later writings. However, Trubetzkoy who had taken over this concept retained it, and subsequently combined it with the concept of 'neutralization'. There were three types

---

[1] Quoted here from J. Vachek, The Linguistic School of Prague (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p.60.

of limitation, in Trubetzkoy's opinion, on the occurrence of phonemes depending on whether they affected a phoneme combination, an isolated phoneme, or a phonological opposition. Of these three, the last one - which Trubetzkoy called 'neutralization' - was regarded by him as the most important limitation, because it not only reduced the number of possible phonemes in a particular position and limited the number of possible phoneme combinations, but also changed the distinctive identity of the phonemes in that particular position.

Trubetzkoy was thus able, by joining the concept of 'archiphoneme' and that of 'neutralization', to restrict the use of the archiphoneme concept: 'archiphonemes' are recognized, where 'neutralization' occurs, but the latter is only recognized to take place if there is bilateral opposition between phonemes, in the first place. As the bilateral oppositions are distinguished by only one feature, the difference between two phonemes involving an 'archiphoneme' can also consist of one feature only.

In his "Grundzüge", Trubetzkoy defined an'archiphoneme' as "the sum of distinctive features that two phonemes have in common", and as "only bilateral oppositions can be neutralized ... only those oppositions

that can be contrasted with all other phonological units of a given system have archiphonemes."[1] In Trubetzkoy the idea of 'correlation' is always in the background.

A mention has already been made of Jakobson's abandonment of the concept of 'archiphoneme' in his later writings; other Prague scholars also tended to discard it altogether as they felt rather sceptical about the usefulness of the concept.[2] However, as we shall see later, this concept, as propounded by Trubetzkoy was resurrected by the functionalists, who regard it as a hall-mark of true Functionalism.

---

[1] N. Trubetzkoy, op. cit., p.79.

[2] J. Vachek, op. cit., p.62.

MULDER's FUNCTIONALISM

Some reference in passing has already been made to Mulder's approach to the study of linguistics. In what follows I shall discuss the most important and significant aspects of his theory in greater detail. In this way I hope that, by the end of the discussion, the reader will have acquired an understanding of the basic principles of the Mulderian approach.

We have already discussed the influences which helped to shape Mulder's approach. The fact that he himself singles out Martinet as the one linguist who had the most immediate and direct influence on him ("I have, so to speak, been inspired by Martinet ...")[1] - has led some to level the charge against him of lacking in originality. Bailey, for example, thinks that Mulder has done nothing more than merely re-stating "Martinet's neo-Praguean functionalism in the explicit guise of axioms and set-theory."[2] That this charge about the lack of originality in Mulder does not stand up to scrutiny

---

[1] J.W.F. Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology, (London: O.U.P. 1968), p.19. (Hereafter this book will be referred to as SRP).

[2] C.N. Bailey, Review of Mulder's SRP, Language, XXXXVI (1970), p.671.

has been amply demonstrated by S.G.J. Hervey in an extremely well-argued article[1] that he wrote in reply to Bailey's criticism mentioned above. Hervey's article completely demolishes Bailey's criticisms and establishes, beyond any doubt, Mulder's rightful place as a linguist who has made a significant original contribution to the discipline of linguistics.

Mulder's approach to the study of linguistics is distinguished from that of all other European linguists (except the Glossematicians in some respects) for a number of reasons. The most important ones of these are as follows:

(i) his constant, and to a great extent, successful, effort to state clearly and unambiguously the basic philosophical principles underlying his approach;

(ii) his insistence on giving explicit definitions of the terms that are used by him;

(iii) his attempts to develop a system of 'formal' and exact procedures for the purpose of analysis;

---

[1] S.G.J. Hervey, "Mulder's 'Axiomatic Linguistics': A Reply to C. Bailey's Review in Language, Vol.46, No. 3," Lingua, XXVIII (1972), pp.348-379.

(iv) his "strict compartmentalization of the procedures, i.e. the first and the second articulation are rigidly separated and within each a sharp distinction is maintained between the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic aspect";[1]

(v) the introduction of the concepts of 'distributional unit' and 'position' which, "though logically implied in the basic assumptions of the Prague School"[2]; were not made to play a prominent role in any other theory;

(vi) the use of the concepts of 'neutralization' and 'archiphoneme'. These concepts, it might be recalled, were introduced in the first place by Jakobson and Trubetzkoy, but then Jakobson, in his later writings, and Prague scholars in general discarded these notions. Only Trubetzkoy retained them until his death in 1939. It was this Trubetzkoyan version of these concepts that was resurrected by Martinet, and, later, taken over by Mulder who developed them further.

---

[1] SRP, p.vi.

[2] Ibid.

Before discussing the basis of Mulder's theory, it will, I think, be helpful if I explained Mulder's concept of 'theory' at some length. This concept, as propounded by Mulder, has the following four components:

(i) Primitive Terms:

In order to avoid the responsible task of going on defining terms ad infinitum, a theory must have a number of 'undefined' or 'primitive' terms. The smaller the number of the primitive terms, the more explicit the theory is. Generally speaking only those terms are left as primitive terms about which there is consensus as to their interpretation.

(ii) Axioms or Primitive Statements:

These are statements which are not demonstrable. Their choice is generally such that they are acceptable to a majority of people. After all, theoretical statements can be demonstrated only with reference to other theoretical statements, and unless one has 'primitive statements', one must incur either vicious regress or vicious circularity.

(iii) Definitions:

These are necessary for explicitness in a theory, and are those statements which introduce the terms which are going to be used, or, in an analytical way, explain

terms which have already been used in another definition. Normally, in a definition the left hand side has more terms than the right hand side, and it should not contain a term that has already been employed on the left hand side, as this would involve circularity.

(iv) Theorems:

These are ultimately derived, by the aid of definitions, from axioms, often via other theorems. A theorem, is, in other words, a conclusion drawn from premises which can be demonstrated to be valid by the laws of inference.

Mulder's theory, which is based on hypothetic deductive principles, follows the axiomatic method commonly employed by the physical sciences, and uses formulae derived from mathematical logic, set-theory and relation-theory in order to demonstrate points that would otherwise be difficult to elaborate.

The basic assumptions on which Mulder's theory is founded are as follows:

(i) Language has a double articulation;

(ii) Language is a system of oppositions;

(iii) Language has a <u>syntagmatic</u> and a <u>paradigmatic</u> aspect;

(iv) Language has a double system of oppositions.

The assumption numbers (iii) and (iv) follow from assumption numbers (i) and (ii) respectively, while the latter set of assumptions are directly derived from the axioms. As the basic axioms and definitions of the theory are of very great importance in understanding Mulder's approach, I will give them in full at this stage.

"

Axiom A. All features in semiotic sets are functional.

Def.Ia. "Functional" for "separately relevant to the purport of the whole of which it is a part".

Def.Ib. "System" for "set of functional features".

Def.Ib.[1] "Semiotic system" for "any system of conventions for communication".

Def.Ic. "Features" for "elements' for relations between elements".

Explanation I. Nothing can be functional unless it is - in equivalent contexts - opposed to, i.e. distinctive, in respect to, something else, or to the absence of any member of the same class. Non-functional elements are not regarded as part of the system.

Axiom B. Semiotic systems may contain complex elements which can be articulated into elements which have both form and meaning or elements which have only form.

Def. 2a. "Sign" or "symbol" for "element in semiotic system with both form and meaning", simply called "grammatical element".

Def. 2a.[1] "Sign" for "grammatical element with wholly conventional meaning".

Def. 2a.[2] "Symbol" for "grammatical element to which a temporary meaning can be attached by definition".

Def. 2b. "Phonological element" for "element which has only form".

Explanation 2. The term "grammatical" and "phonological" here have a very special and at the same time very wide range of meaning. They merely refer to the two articulations mentioned in Axiom B. The terms are appropriate for the two articulations of language (see Def. 3a) - also to be called first and second articulation respectively - but are here used for analogous, but not homologous, articulations of other semiotic systems as well. For example, the dots and dashes in the Morse code are phonological elements, and the symbols in algebra and the signs in arithmetic are grammatical elements. The "meaning" of a symbol is of a potential nature. Phonological elements may constitute the form of signs or symbols, but not the signs or symbols themselves. For example, the sign which denotes the letter a in the Morse code does not simply consist of a dot and a dash, in that order, rather its form does; that is, there is more to a sign or a symbol than "form" alone. It should be remembered that 'elements' which have been left as primitive terms, do not refer to 'relations', as those are between 'elements'.

Def. 3a. "Language" for "semiotic system with both articulations".

3b. "Simple semiotic system" for "semiotic system without combination of elements".

3c. "Complex semiotic system" for "semiotic systems with combinations of elements".

$3c^1$. "Unordered semiotic system" for "complex semiotic system without ordering relations between elements".

$3c^2$. "Ordered semiotic system" for "complex semiotic system with ordering relations between elements".

3d. "Articulated semiotic system" for "ordered semiotic system".

$3d^1$. "Articulation" for "set of ordering-relations between elements in combinations".

Explanation 3. Definition 3d. is exclusive, therefore all other semiotic systems (i.e. simple or unordered) are unarticulated. No semiotic system is called a language unless it possesses both articulations.

Def. 4a. "Paradigmatic" for "the oppositional or distinctive aspect of semiotic elements". (See Explanation 1).

$4a^1$. "Paradigmatic relations" for "relations of opposition between members of sets".

Def. 4b. "Syntagmatic" for "the articulation aspect of semiotic elements". (See Axiom B and Defs. 3a, 3c[2] and 3d.)

4b[1]. "Syntagmatic relations" for "ordering relations between semiotic elements in combinations".

4b[2]. "Relations of simultaneity" for "non-ordering relations between elements in combinations".

4c. "Combination" for "divisible (i.e. analysable, or molecular) element".

4c[1]. "Chain" for "articulated combination", i.e. "syntagmatically divisible element".

4c[2]. "Positions" for "syntagmatically equivalent divisions (i.e. sections) of a chain".

4c[3]. "Distributional unit", "position group", or "field of relations" for "self-contained bundle of interdependent (and, therefore, in fact simultaneous) positions".

Explanation 4. By Axiom A, and by the definitions connected with that axiom, every element in a semiotic system stands in a paradigmatic relation with at least one other element, or with zero. In fact, this implies that it always stands in a paradigmatic relation with its absence, i.e. something is functional if and only if its absence can be relevant. In ordered semiotic systems, elements may stand in syntagmatic relations with other elements. In the latter

there may be unordered combinations as well. In grammar one has to consider fields of relations or position groups on different hierarchical levels. In phonology only one type - the "distributional unit" - has to be considered.

Positions are, in fact, the "immediate constituents" of the underlying structure of a chain. Tautologically, there are syntagmatic relations between elements or groups of elements standing in different positions within the same group of interdependent positions. It would, however, be wrong to speak about syntagmatic relations between the positions themselves. They are fully interdependent as such and therefore simultaneous.

Def. 5. "Element" or "semiotic element" for "paradigmeme" or "syntagmeme".

5a. "Paradigmeme" for "member of a semiotic set".

5b. "Syntagmeme" for "paradigmeme standing in a position".

5c. "Syntagm" or "phrase" for "self-contained bundle of syntagmemes in grammar". Equivalent definition: "an instance of a position-group or field of relations in grammar."

Explanation 5. In phonology I call also an instance of a distributional unit a distributional unit, when no confusion may arise. In a similar way, we may use the term 'syntagm' for 'a self-contained bundle of positions', in those contexts where no confusion may arise. If confusion may arise, we should talk about 'instance of a distributional unit' and 'position group' (or 'field of relations') respectively. 'Distributional unit' is primarily not an instance, and 'syntagm' is primarily an instance of these units. Though the introduction of "homonymy" in the terminology is usually unfortunate, in this case it seems harmless, and leads to a greater economy of the technical vocabulary.

Def. 6. 'Phoneme' for 'simultaneous bundle of distinctive features in phonology, not extending over more than one position'. Equivalent definition: 'minimum syntagmatic element in phonology'.

6a. 'Distinctive feature' for 'minimum (i.e. unanalysable, or atomic) element in phonology".

6b. 'Syntagmatic element' for 'element that can stand in syntagmatic (i.e. ordering) relations with other such elements'.

Explanation 6. To be a 'syntagmatic element' does not imply that it must stand, at any given instance, in ordering-relations with other such elements, but it does imply that there is an instance of such relations for the element. It goes without saying (i.e. it can be logically deduced from the definitions given) that an instance of an element (but not, of course, the element as a notion) may be both an instance of a minimum element (distinctive feature) and of a minimum syntagmatic element (phoneme). The same holds, mutatis mutandis, for comparable elements in grammar; for instance, one may recognize mono-monematic words or grammatemes (see below). This, however, needs some qualification. It means, in fact, that the item in question occurs in two inventories, i.e. in that of the 'distinctive features' (in the case of phonological elements) or that of the 'monemes' (in the case of grammatical elements), and in that of the 'phonemes' (phonological elements), or that of the 'grammatemes or words' (grammatical elements). One should not, however, call an item a 'distinctive feature', or a 'moneme', respectively, when one is considering it as member of the other inventory, and vice versa.

With instances of distributional units (in phonology) and of syntagms (in grammar) matters are slightly different. These are bundles of positions, in theory (but not necessarily always in the presentation, though this remains understood) all filled, either by an element, or by 'zero' (which for all practical purposes at this level is regarded as an element). Such expressions as 'a one-phoneme syllable', 'a one-phoneme distributional unit', or'a one-word phrase' should not be taken too literally, but they mean that only one of the positions necessarily (except in ellipsis) the nucleus (see below) one is filled by non-'zero'. Of course, something cannot be both a 'distinctive feature' or (in grammar) a 'moneme' (see below), and a syntagmatic element. That is, if we are considering a minimum element as a syntagmatic element, we may not, on any account, in that operation call it a 'moneme' or a 'distinctive feature' (in the narrower sense of the definition). If we use the term'distinctive feature' without any further qualification, we should mean by it just 'minimum element in phonology'. We may, however, use the term 'distinctive feature' in a wider sense, e.g.

'distinctive feature in grammar' as a definition for 'moneme', and even in a yet wider sense, i.e. for 'any feature that is distinctive in the language, whether minimum or not', provided that the sense in which the term is used is duly qualified or entirely clear from the context. 'Minimum syntagmatic element' means that the element in question can not be further analysed (and it is therefore, on that level, atomic) into further syntagmatic elements. It does not of course, mean that no further analysis is possible on the paradigmatic level. Just 'minimum element' means that it is no further analysable (though it may be further analytically describable, e.g. in the case of grammatical elements, in terms of 'semantic features') on any level. 'Distinctive features' in a narrower, but not the narrowest, sense, both in phonology (distinctive features properly) and in grammar (monemes), either can occur alone in a position or as a sentence (see below), or can stand in a relation of simultaneity with other such elements, or they can occur both alone in a position or as a sentence, and can stand (on other occasions) in a relation of simultaneity with other such elements.

Def. 7. 'Grammateme or word' for 'simultaneous bundle of distinctive features in grammar not extending over more than one position'. Alternative definition: 'simultaneous bundle of monemes'. Equivalent definition: 'minimum syntagmatic element in grammar'.

7a. 'Moneme' for 'minimum (i.e. unanalysable, or atomic) element in grammar'.

Explanation 7. The terms 'grammateme' and 'word' refer to the same elements in grammar (i.e. signs). The reason why I have chosen a double terminology for these entities is that in most cases the term 'word' is appropriate, and, as it is a well-known term of long standing, it can only make things easier for the majority of the readers if the term is retained. There are, however, times that one might wish to make certain types of statements about the phonological forms of this type of sign in which the use of the term 'word' would be rather far from what is usually considered as a 'word' in every-day ordinary language. This is, because in ordinary language, when we speak about 'words', we do not distinguish between a sign and its phonological form. When we use the term 'word', we have a picture, as it were, of some linear segment, well set off from other, similar linear

segments in speech or text. Of course, in a linguistic description we mean with 'signs' completely abstract entities, but it is still a fact that most of us, in some way or another, visualise realizations of those entities whenever we are dealing with them. If now, we visualise the realization of a minimum syntagmatic sign as a linear and uninterrupted segment, we can refer to such a sign by calling it a 'word'. Otherwise we may refer to such a sign, perhaps the same sign, by calling it a grammateme (by analogy with 'phoneme' in phonology). An example may make this clear. In such a phrase as in German 'Der Mann Kommt', as opposed to both 'Die Frau kommt' and 'Ich komme, Du kommst, wir kommen, etc.', one may recognise three minimum syntagmatic signs, the phonological form of which, however, we may describe in two rather different ways. We may say that these signs have the phonological forms /der/, ~~man/~~, /man/, /komD/ (/D/ is an archiphoneme) respectively, in which case we may refer to these 'signs' (of course, not to their phonological forms) as 'words'. We may, however, from a slightly different point of view, but equally correctly describe the

phonological forms of these three signs as /d/,/er...man...D/, and /kom/ respectively, in which case the term 'word' for these signs is rather remote from its use in ordinary speech, and the term 'grammateme' (I repeat: for exactly the same signs, in their capacity as signs, that we have just called 'words') may be felt to be more appropriate.

Def. 8. "Sentence' for 'sign or symbol (i.e. signum) with such features that it can not be a component of another sign or symbol'.

8a. "Independent syntagm' for 'syntagm that is capable of syntactically corresponding to a sentence'.

8a[1]. "Elliptical sign or symbol' for 'realization that corresponds to only part of a sign or a symbol, the other part to be understood from the context or situation in which the realization takes place.'

Explanation 8. As 'elliptical' belongs to the level of 'realization', the term 'elliptical sign or symbol', is in fact, misleading. However, such terms as 'elliptical sentence' and 'elliptical phrase', are so well-established in our jargon that it is difficult to replace them by a more consistent, but no doubt clumsy,

alternative. I have introduced the definition of 'elliptical' at this point, because otherwise one might be tempted to insert the word 'non-elliptical' before the word 'sentence' in Def.8a., and in order to stress the fact that, in spite of my use of the terms 'sign' and 'symbol' in Def. 8a[1] - strictly speaking, there are no such things as 'elliptical signs or symbols' 'elliptical sentence', and 'elliptical syntagms', but only elliptical realizations.

The 'features', referred to in Def. 8, may be such features as 'intonation' in 'spoken languages ', 'full stop', 'question mark' or 'exclamation mark' in certain 'written counterparts' of 'certain spoken languages', or other features. Of course, in semiotic systems with no grammatical articulation, any sign or symbol is, by definition, a sentence, and to be a 'sign', or a 'symbol', is in itself a sufficient feature for being a 'sentence'.

One should not - as most philosophers do - confuse 'sentence' with 'statement'. The only thing the two have in common is that the realization of a 'statement' by

communicative necessity, coincides with the realization of a 'sentence'. However, 'statement' in the philosopher's sense, is not an object of interest for description by linguists. A theory contains 'statements', but it is not the theory that contains 'sentences', but the semiotic system or systems employed in stating the theory.

It may be tempting to define 'sentence' as 'maximum sign or symbol', i.e. as a grammatical element that is not a component of another grammatical element. I shall, in the following, use the term 'signum', for both 'sign' and 'symbol'. Now, strictly speaking, in an inventory of signa (i.e. as paradigmemes) no signum can be a component of another signum nor can it - tautologically - be composed of other signa. As a component it is not a signum, but a component of a signum, though this component may correspond to a signum in the inventory of signa. For instance, the 'past tense' of 'verbs' in English is a single sign, and so is 'worked'. So are 'he worked', 'in the garden', 'he worked in the garden', the garden', 'he', 'in', 'the', and 'garden'. 'He worked' and 'he worked in the garden' may, on occasion, correspond to a complete sentence.

Strictly speaking, in that case, there are two signs 'he worked', i.e. the syntagm and the sentence. The description of the latter is not exhausted by a description of the former, hence they are not the same thing as a model in the theory. Both may correspond to components of other syntagms, e.g. 'he worked' in 'he worked in the garden', and 'he worked in the garden' in 'yesterday, he worked in the garden', or in 'if he worked in the garden, he would be able to grow vegetables'.

Though, in the following, I shall insist that 'syntactic relations are relations between signs' (in fact, I should say '<u>signa</u>' but what we are interested in in this work are mainly 'signs'), this should be understood as standing for the more clumsy: 'syntactic relations are relations between constituents that correspond to signs (rather than to allomorphs of signs)'.

The notion sentence, as such, is not a syntactic concept, as from a syntactic point of view it is irrelevant whether a particular construction is a sentence or not, i.e. it would not make any difference to the <u>syntactic</u>

analysis. Of course, it may make a difference to the *analysis*, but not to the *syntactic* analysis. Naturally, there remains the theoretical possibility that in certain semiotic systems, even in some languages, there may be phrases that can only correspond to a whole sentence. Unless all syntactic structures, *qua* syntactic structure, in such a semiotic system unequivocally correspond either to a sentence, or to part of a sentence, we may not make a *distinction* between 'sentence' and 'syntagm' on the same level of analysis, i.e. similar to the way we distinguish between 'syntagm', 'word' and 'moneme'. The term 'sentence' does not belong to this hierarchy; it belongs to a different hierarchy, of which the lower member is 'clause'. What I have said about 'sentence' holds *mutatis mutandis*, for 'clause' as well.

It is in a sense misleading, and even wrong, if linguists say that syntax is 'the analysis of sentence'. But it is in a sense correct as well. It is wrong, because the notion 'sentence' is *qua* structure, not a syntactic notion, and the analysis of sentence,

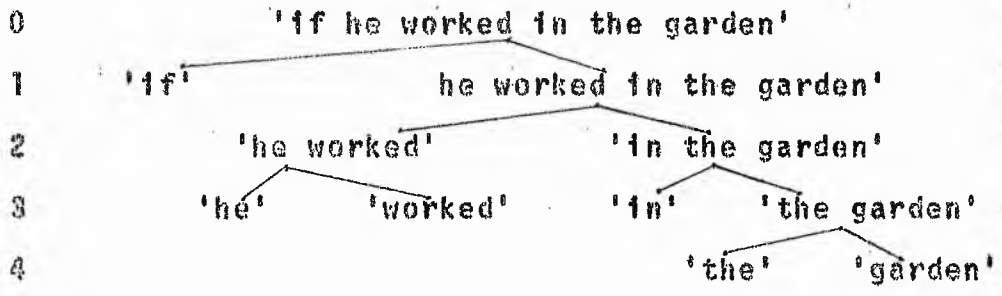
qua sentence, is not syntactic analysis. On the other hand it is correct, because, when we do a full analysis, i.e. an analysis that is purported to be descriptive of certain speech-phenomena (not only of entities in the inventory), we take an ordered chain of signa at the very point where it corresponds to a sentence. We are, therefore, interested in 'the 'sentence', but it is important to realise that, once we begin the analysis, we are not analysing the sentence, but the syntagm that corresponds to it. The statement under discussion is therefore more wrong than right, which implies that it is, strictly speaking, wrong. We should say that 'syntactic description' is - basically - the description of syntagms that correspond to sentences.

It is for this reason that the notion 'independent syntagm' is an important notion, as an independent syntagm is a syntagm that may correspond to a sentence.

Independent syntagms may have constituents that correspond to independent syntagms themselves, and in languages (to the best of my knowledge - but it is not a matter of logical necessity - in all languages) any independent

syntagm corresponds to constituents of other independent syntagms (e.g. 'he worked' in 'he worked in the garden') as well as to the constituents of non-independent syntagms (e.g. 'he worked' in 'if he worked', or in 'if he worked in the garden').

In 'if he worked', we may call 'if' and 'he worked' first order constituents; in 'if he worked in the garden', 'if' and 'he worked in the garden' (independent syntagm) are first order, but 'he worked' (independent syntagm) and 'in the garden' are second order constituents; third order constituents are 'he', 'worked', 'in', and 'the garden', whilst 'the' and 'garden' are fourth order constituents of this syntagm. If we visualise this analysis as an inverted tree-diagram, the orders (first, second, and so on) correspond to the subsequent strata of branching:



A further analysis of 'worked' into 'work' and 'past' is not a syntactic analysis as there are no functional ordering-relations between 'work' and 'past'; they are in a relation of simultaneity, functionally speaking. This is not the case with, say, 'he' and 'worked' in 'he worked'. There is here a relation of simultaneity between 'he' as subject, and 'worked' as predicative, i.e. between syntagmemes, but not between 'he' and 'worked' as such, i.e. as paradigmemes. It would be incorrect to say that this syntagm, qua syntagm, contained the monemes 'work' and 'plural'. A syntagm never contains 'monemes', but at most other syntagms, and at least words, which may, of course, be mono-monematic, i.e. correspond to a single moneme. But 'monemes' as such have no syntagmatic status.

Any syntagm that can correspond to a first order constituent of an independent syntagm can - in principle - correspond to a second order one, which implies that it can correspond to a third order one, and so on. That is, languages (possibly all languages) exhibit the feature of unrestricted embedding, unrestricted in the sense that any syntagm can be embedded in any other syntagm, which implies that the latter can be

embedded in in yet another one, and so on. Also the converse is probably true, as there are probably no cases of a word as a constituent that does not commute with a syntagm. For instance, 'very' in 'very tall' commutes with 'very or rather','alongside' in 'alongside the house' commutes with 'alongside, or I should rather say behind', etc.

Still, one can establish a classification partly based on a hierarchy of syntagms, as there are certain types of syntagms that can contain certain others, but not vice versa, e.g. 'the type represented by 'very cold' can be contained in, but it cannot contain, a syntagm of the type represented by 'the very old man in the garden'.

The latter syntagm, which one may call nominal syntagm (or, if one prefers, Chomsky's 'noun phrase', though I mean by a nominal syntagm not exactly the same as what he means by a noun phrase, as one can already see from this example), exhibits, as a type, an interesting case of embedding. Namely, this type can contain a syntagm of the same type as a second, but not as a first, order constituent, which implies this constituent can again contain a syntagm of the same type as a second, but not as

a first, order constituent, and so on, e.g. 'the box in the box in the box, etc.' or 'the thing in the box in the cupboard in the house in the garden in the village in the ... etc.' According to my analysis, as we shall see, 'the', 'thing', and 'in the box in the ...' are first order, 'in' and 'the box in the ...' are second order, 'the', 'box' and 'in the ...' are first order in the last constituent, but third order constituents in the syntagm we started with, and so on.

As I have said, that what in languages generally distinguishes sentences from non-sentences is the added feature of 'intonation'. One should distinguish between 'intonation' and 'accent', on the basis of their difference in function, and one should distinguish between two functionally entirely different types of accent, i.e. 'contrastive accent' and 'connotative accent'. The latter is, in realization, often superimposed on the former, and both may, in realization, amalgamate with intonation. Tone, a distinctive phenomenon in tone-languages, may further complicate the impressionistic picture, but all these types can be sorted out on a functional basis, just as easily as we can sort out 'signs' from the amalgamated forms of some of their

realizations. Different hierarchical layers of contrastive accent can be superimposed on one another, i.e. the accent of a syntagm is generally superimposed on that of one of its constituents, etc. Connotative accent, which is better regarded as an auxillary device, i.e. as not belonging to the semiotic system proper, may be superimposed on any other accent, or it may 'hit' contrasting non-accented syllables. I have been dealing here mainly with 'language', and in particular with 'language' as a model to 'speech'. With respect to written text (which I do not regard, as most linguists do, as a substitute for speech, but as the product of an independent semiotic system with a double articulation (i.e. as a language); priority of the one over the other is rather a diachronic than a synchronic matter. I am only considering here our own alphabetical system of writing) one would rather not speak of 'intonation'. Written language, however, does use a device which fulfils a similar role as 'intonation' in speech, i.e. 'punctuation', such as '.',',',';','!', and '?'. Its main contrastive device, playing a similar role as 'contrastive accent', is 'spacing'. As 'spacing' is usually only between 'word-like'

units, there is usually more 'homonymy' in graphical than in vocal communication systems. There are semiotic systems, such as algebra and arithmetic, in which a sentence is recognized, *ipso facto*, as such, by other formal devices, or by their absence merely indicating that the formula in question is not part of another sentence. The same is true for traffic signs. There are, as I have already indicated, also semiotic systems in which there is only one type of *signum*, e.g. in the Morse code, where a certain combination of dots and dashes constitutes the form of a sign, e.g. '.___' has the information value: the letter 'a'. These signs are, then, sentences, and they need no further features to distinguish them from non-sentences, as the Morse-code does not have *signa* that are non-sentences. As a sentence is a *signum* such that it can not be a constituent of another *signum*, and every semiotic system contains *signa* (though not necessarily an articulation into *signa*), every semiotic system, *ipso facto*, contains 'sentences'.

Def. 9. 'Clause' for 'sign, with such features that it must be a constituent of a sentence'.

Explanation 9. This means, in fact, that in all known practice, just as a sentence is distinguished by its intonation from a non-sentence, a clause is distinguished from a non-clause by its intonation."[1]

[1] Everything, from Axiom A on page 55 to Explanation 9 on page 78, is a quotation from Mulder's handouts, in between lectures during the Academic Year 1969-1970, St. Andrews University.

In his Cours, de Saussure referred to many dichotomies that, he maintained, existed in language. One such dichotomy referred to what is now popularly known as the 'langue-parole' distinction.[1] De Saussure believed that the dichotomy was absolute, and that the linguists should study 'langue' and not 'parole'. Mulder does not accept either that the dichotomy is absolute, or, that 'parole' (i.e. speech) is not the proper field of study for a true linguist. The distinction that Mulder draws between 'language' and 'speech' is based on the premise that the former is the model of the latter. ('Models' are defined as "structures that apply to 'isolatable' sections of speech."[2]) As regards the proper object of study for a true linguist, Mulder maintains that the object of linguistic study should be ostensible. This requirement makes it inevitable for the linguist to study 'speech', which is ostensible, rather than the hypothetical structure that is assumed to underlie 'speech' (i.e. 'language'), which is not ostansible but conjectural. 'Language', says Mulder, "is what has to be established, not described by the linguist."[3] What, therefore, a functionalist describes and explains is 'speech' rather

---

[1] See also p.20.

[2] SRP, p.8.

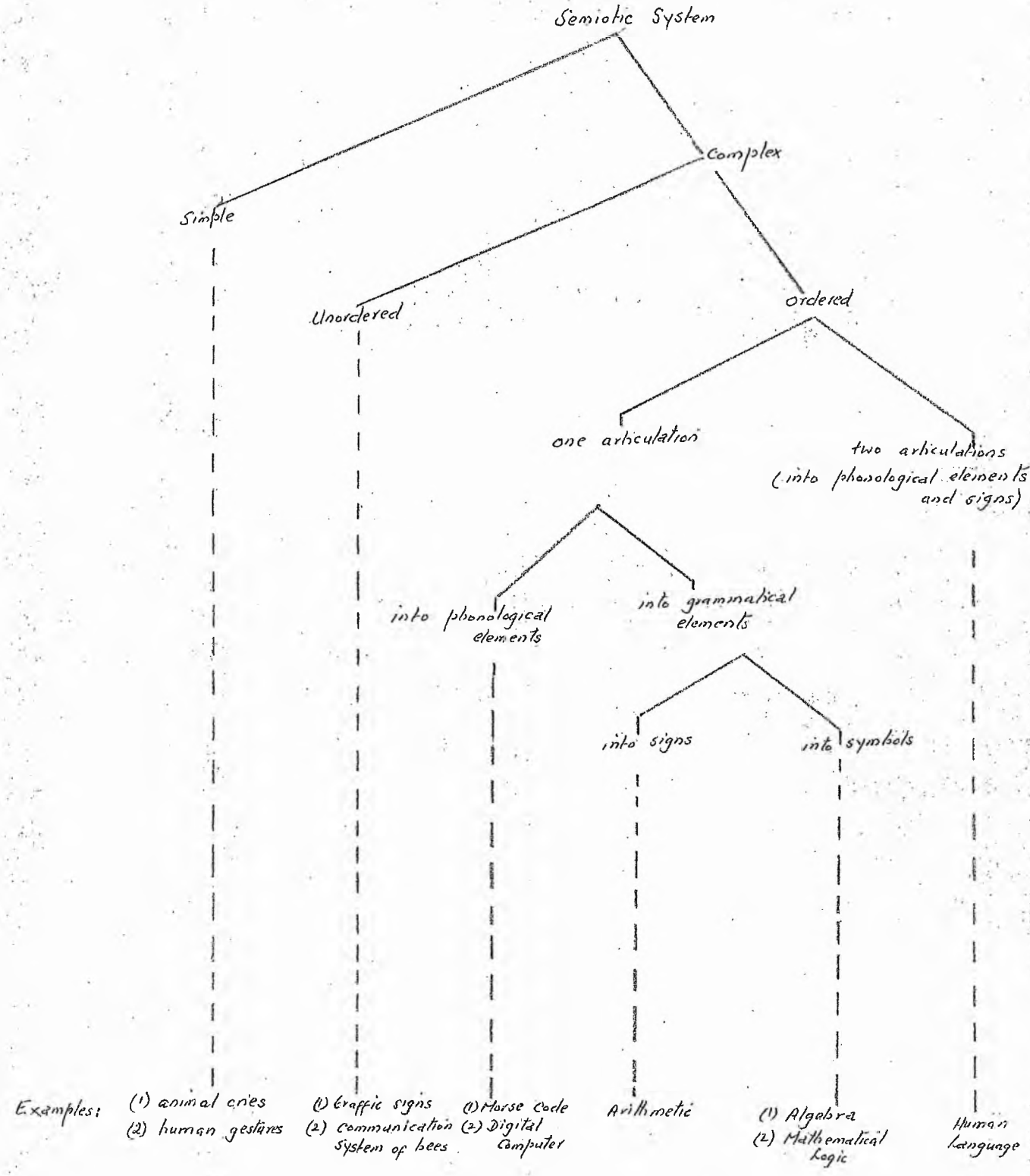
[3] Ibid., p.19.

than 'language'. The latter, as already said, is a model of the former (explicitly or implicitly), containing within it a distinction between first articulation and second articulation.

The use of the terms 'first articulation' and 'second articulation' is not approved by Mulder, because it tends to suggest that there is some logical relation of priority involved, or, that articulation is continuous and mechanical so that one could go from phonology to grammar. As a matter of fact, the two articulations of language, as interpreted by Mulder, are both logically and temporally independent of one another. This is also shown by the fact that each type of articulation can be instanced separately in communication systems other than language. Examples of this can be given from Mulder's diagram[1] on the next page: thus, only a 'first' articulation is manifested in algebra, and only a 'second' articulation is manifested in the Morse code.

---

[1] Ibid., p.14.


Semiotic System
Simple
Complex
Unordered
Ordered
one articulation
two articulations
(into phonological elements and signs)
into phonological elements
into grammatical elements
into signs
into symbols
Examples:
(1) animal cries
(2) human gestures
(1) traffic signs
(2) communication system of bees
(1) Morse code
(2) Digital Computer
Arithmetic
(1) Algebra
(2) Mathematical Logic
Human language

According to Mulder, the distinction between the two articulations is based on the nature of elements into which a given complex is articulated: articulation into elements with both form and meaning, and that into elements with form alone. Mulder has suggested that the former be called 'grammatical articulation' (instead of 'first articulation') and the latter be called 'phonological articulation' (instead of 'second articulation'). However, as he has not yet formally incorporated these new terms, I shall continue to use the conventional terms (namely, 'first articulation' and 'second articulation') in this work.

It might be pointed out here that Mulder's interpretation of the concept of 'articulation' (as outlined above) differs substantially from that of Martinet. The latter uses the term 'articulation' as a primitive one; that is to say, Martinet merely explains it and does not define it. Moreover, he conceives of the double articulation as a single two-tier structure: first, there is the articulation into elements that have both form and meaning (that is, into monemes), in the first articulation; second, the signifiants of the monemes are further articulated into elements that have form only (that is, into phonemes), in the second articulation.

There is a great insistence in Mulder on the separation of levels of analysis (between phonology and grammar, for example).[1] He recognizes that the 'facts' themselves do not imply any such separation of levels. But Mulder argues that since one can not study these 'facts' except within the framework of a theory in which there is a separation of levels of abstraction, it is only right that the levels of analysis should be kept rigidly apart. For example, if we take one of the basic Mulderian assumptions about language, namely, that language has a double articulation, we can see the validity of Mulder's argument. The two articulations refer to, one, into elements that have form alone, and another one, into elements that have both form and meaning. Now, if one is discussing the notion of, say, phoneme, one is dealing with the level of phonology where the interest lies in the elements that have form alone. It is just not possible to operate with this notion on the level of grammar where the interest is concentrated on elements that have both form and meaning. The reverse is equally true: one may not transfer arguments from the level of grammar to that of phonology.

---

[1] But see the discussion of Mulder's sign-concept, pp. 98-105.

The concept of 'distinctive features', which are the ultimate elements of the second articulation, was first developed by Jakobson. This concept also plays an important part in the approach represented by Martinet and Mulder. I, therefore, think it will help to make clear the concept of 'distinctive features', if I outline the main points of difference between the Jakobsonian approach to the concept on the one hand, and that of Martinet and Mulder on the other.

On a superficial level, the difference between Jakobson's and Martinet's approach to the concept of 'distinctive features' is that, while the former uses acoustic criteria, the latter uses articulatory ones.[1] However, a much more basic and real difference between Jakobson's and Martinet's interpretation of distinctive features is that, while for Jakobson they - both the concept and the distinctive features themselves - belong to the theory, for Martinet actual instances of distinctive

---

[1] Martinet's preference for articulatory phonetics is based on the grounds that "articulatory ... phonetics remains more familiar to linguists, and in general it gives a clearer insight into the causality of phonetic change." (Elements of General Linguistics, (trans.) E. Palmer, 1964, p.47.)

features do not belong to the theory. The latter only contains the definition of the concept of distinctive feature, but not the distinctive features themselves, which are found in the linguistic description. In other words, Jakobson regards 'phonemes' as being secondary to the definition of 'distinctive feature', while Martinet, disagreeing with Jakobson's approach, regards 'phonemes' as being primary to the definition of 'distinctive feature'. Because of the difference in approach just mentioned, Jakobson proceeds with the linguistic description of a given language having already a set of distinctive features in his theory; Martinet, on the other hand, first makes an inventory of the phonemes of the language he is describing, and only then proceeds to describe the distinctive features.

Another point of difference between their respective approaches to the concept of distinctive feature is that while Jakobson's labels for distinctive features contain a phonetically descriptive element, Martinet's labels are purely classificatory.

In a functionalist system, the distinctive features, just like any other phonological factor, are established on the basis of their functional value. Mulder, therefore, regards the actual physical nature of sounds as being of minor relevance to the working of language; the relevant

factor is the functional identity of the distinctive features and their organization. For instance, Mulder regards the following classification of French semi-vowels as incorrect, because in the case of /i/ the

	Back	Front
Rounded	u	y
Unrounded		i

difference 'back/front' is not functional.

Distinctive features are defined by Mulder as "features by which forms, opposed by commutation, are different;"[1] they classify for him in general terms the distinctive qualities of the phonemes. That is to say, the distinctive features serve as "generalization of the pertinent features of the phonemes which can be established in the sub-systems."[2]

Mulder also prefers to use articulatory terms in labelling phonemes for a number of reasons. Firstly, because articulatory phonetics is very well-developed and advanced; secondly, because it is generally easier to explain both combinatory variance and distribution on the basis of articulatory rather than acoustic criteria;

---

[1] SRP, p.24.

[2] SRP, p.136.

thirdly, because the acoustic parts have already been taken care of by ignoring those articulatory features in articulatory phonetics that do not have acoustic counterparts. For these reasons, and because the statements of the realization of phonemes are regarded as important by functionalists, Mulder finds it more profitable to work with articulatory criteria.

The terms used by Mulder for distinctive features classify the phonemes on functional principles. In fact, a pure functionalist, especially an axiomatic functionalist, like Mulder, uses two sets of labels, one set for the distinctive features of the phonemes (e.g. /p/ = unvoiced, labial, occlusive), and the second set for statements of the realizations of the phonemes (e.g. [pʿ] = unvoiced, fortis, bilabial, aspirated, occlusive). The first set is language-bound, the second set belongs to General Phonetics. The difference between Jakobson and Mulder in this respect can be shown by the following illustration of the different ways in which Mulder treats, and Jakobson presumably would treat, the Chinese vowel system.

For Jakobson, presumably, the sounds [o], [ɔ], [ə], [ɛ] and [e], in Mandarin Chinese [fow], [kwɔ], [pən], [jɛ] and [fej] respectively would correspond to five phonemes. Mulder, on the other hand, would have only one:

[o]	before /u/	
[ɔ]	after /u/	
[ə]	in all other cases	=/e/[1]
[ɛ]	after /i/	
[e]	before /i/	

Functionalists hold that distinctive features alone are not sufficient for the 'building-bricks' in the phonematic structure of a language, but they regard in addition the concept of 'phoneme' as necessary. Actually, this concept, along with the criterion of 'position' is essential to account for syntagmatic structure in the phonology of a language. I shall explain this below.

One of the most important concepts in phonology is that of 'phoneme', and we have already traced in some detail the gradual emergence of the concept as it came to be held by the Prague School.

Martinet developed the phoneme concept further, and defined it as "un ensemble de traits pertinents qui se réalisent simultanément."[2] That is to say, a phoneme for

---

[1]Actually, Mulder classifies it as a quasi-phoneme, for reasons that are not relevant here. See SRP, p.121.

[2]A. Martinet, La Description Phonologique avec application au parler franco-provencal d'Hauteville (Savoie), (Paris: Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises, LVI, 1956).

Martinet is a bundle of distinctive features that occur simultaneously (in a functional sense, i.e. not necessarily in a physical sense). This definition has, however been modified by Mulder who includes in it the very important notion of 'position'. He defines phoneme as "a simultaneous bundle of distinctive features in phonology which does not extend over more than one position in the chain."[1]

A careful look at the foregoing definitions of phoneme given by Martinet and Mulder respectively will at once reveal that, in spite of superficial similarity, there are some rather important differences. A reference has already been made to the notion of 'position' that Mulder introduces in his definition. (Martinet also uses the term 'position', but his use of it is rather vague and unclear. It seems that the sense in which Martinet uses the term is closer to the sense in which Mulder uses the term 'sequential order' (that is, the "relation of 'preceding' and 'succeeding").[2] In phonology, but not in syntax, the notion 'sequential order' is implied in - but does not exhaust - that of 'position'.

---

[1] SRP, p.26.

[2] SRP, p.71.

Mulder, in one of his less formal moods, defines the notion 'position' as "a place in which a form can stand, and is substitutable by similar forms ... a paradigmatic point on a syntagmatic axis."[1] That is to say, wherever "in a chain, ordering relations can be demonstrated to hold between certain elements, each of the terms in that relation, by virtue of being a momentum of the relation can be said to stand in a position."[2] With regard to this notion, as used by Mulder, the following points are worth mentioning:

(i) it is a rigorous notion, because the point at which it is set up in the chain is determined by the functional-ordering relations in the chain;

(ii) it provides a criterion for determining the 'minimum syntagmatic unit in phonology'[3] (i.e. the phoneme) without having to have recourse to phonetic criteria in establishing the phonemes of a given language;

(iii) it has a valuable descriptive potential; it, in fact, leads to "elegant, economical and highly original descriptive solutions".[4] For instance, Mulder quotes the

---

[1] SRP, p.26.

[2] S.G.J. Hervey, op. cit, p.353.

[3] This is, in fact, the equivalent definition of phoneme given by Mulder in SRP, p.127.

[4] S.G.J. Hervey, op. cit, p. 353.

example of the French words houille and oui, and says that although both of them are, phonematically speaking, /ui/, they are nevertheless different forms phonologically. He suggests that this distinction can be expressed by writing /u̯i/ for the first and /ui̯/ for the second word respectively - the dot denoting the nuclear position. This same analysis is represented by Mulder in a tabular form thus:[1]

	explosive	nuclear	implosive
houille	ø	/u/	/i/
oui	/u/	/i/	ø

Alternatively, one may designate houille by /øui/ and oui by /uiø/.

(iv) if applied consistently, it can often lead to a substantial reduction in the size of the phoneme inventories arrived at by other descriptive methods. (See, for example, Mulder and Hurren's article about English vowels).[2] It can also help in making precise statements about the distribution of the phonemes in terms of their

---

[1] SRP, p.27.

[2] J.W.F. Mulder and H.A. Hurren, "The English Vowel Phonemes from a functional point of view and a statement of their distribution," La Linguistique, (1968), pp.43-60.

occurrence in 'positions' or 'groups of positions'.[1]

Another item that makes for a rather important distinction between Martinet's and Mulder's concepts of phoneme is the notion of 'simultaneity'. As regards Martinet's interpretation of the concept, if one looks at it in view of his criteria for establishing it in phonology, the most significant point that emerges is that there are phonetic considerations involved. This is explained by Hervey in the following way: in resolving the issue of whether a given sound, say Hungarian [ts], should be represented as a single, simultaneous bundle, or as a sequence of two phonemes, Martinet's criteria would be: (a) does it involve a single choice for the speaker, or two separate choices; (b) can /c/ as a single phoneme fit into a correlation with other single phonemes in the same system; (c) can /c/ as a single phoneme ever be distinctive from a sequence /ts/. In this particular case, Martinet would set up a single phoneme /c/ as distinct from a phoneme sequence /ts/. Nevertheless, the identification of a phoneme /c/ rather than of the sequence /ts/ is either entirely arbitrary, or is based on the criterion of phonetic similarity. Therefore,

---

[1] i.e. distributional unit. See SRP, pp.26-27.

although phonetic simultaneity was not a criterion for establishing /c/ as an item in the inventory, the identification of /c/ as a simultaneous bundle is, nevertheless, ultimately made on phonetic criteria. It is in this sense that simultaneity in Martinet can be seen as a notion not entirely free from phonetic criteria.[1]

If we say that /bit/ consists of /b/, /i/ and /t/, we mean with phonemes something else than when we say that the phoneme /b/ has the features 'labial', 'occlusive' and 'voiced'. In the first case, we mean 'phoneme in position', in the second we mean phoneme as an item, say, in the inventory. Mulder distinguishes between the two by distinguishing between 'syntagmemes' and 'paradigmemes'.

We have already discussed Mulder's concept of position, whereby a phoneme becomes for him a bundle of distinctive features between which there are no syntagmatic relations. This is an important difference between Martinet's and Mulder's interpretation of the term 'simultaneity'. The latter regards it as "a purely syntagmatic concept" which should be dealt with in a "purely syntagmatic way".[2] I think this difference in

---

[1] S.G.J. Hervey, op. cit, pp.355-356.

[2] SRP, p.28.

their respective concepts of 'simultaneity' can best be highlighted by quoting Hervey again about Mulder's solution to the problem of Hungarian /ts/. Hervey says: that Mulder would solve the problem of Hungarian /ts/ in a different way: "this would constitute a simultaneous bundle for him , until and unless it could, within the same distributional unit, be demonstrated to consist of functionally ordered elements /t/ and /s/. This could only be demonstrated if at least one instance could be found in which both ts and st can occur, in the same pair of positions, and in what is undeniably and indubitably a distributional unit."[1]

I will end the discussion of Mulder's interpretation of phoneme and related concepts by referring once again to his definition of phoneme, and reformulating it thus: 'phoneme' is 'something' in a chain in a language that has the following characteristics:

(i) it has only form, and no meaning;

(ii) it is opposed to something in an equivalent context;

(iii) it does not stand in a relation of simultaneity with other elements;

---

[1] S.G.J. Hervey, op. cit, pp.356-357.

(iv) it can stand in ordering relations with other elements; and

(v) it differs in terms of distinctive features from all other elements.

The concept of 'archiphoneme' plays an important part in Functionalist Linguistics; in fact, Mulder goes so far as to regard the acceptance of the concept as being 'the hallmark of true functionalism'. It might be recalled here that this concept was initially introduced by Roman Jakobson. He, however, abandoned it in his later writings, as did most other Prague scholars who were rather unsure of the utility of the concept. There were, however, some exceptions to this general trend of doing away with the concept of 'archiphoneme'. Trubetzkoy, who took over the concept from Roman Jakobson, retained it, and so did his immediate followers.

One of them, Martinet, who, it is claimed, "contributed more to functionalism than anybody else",[1] has always employed this concept and its corollary 'neutralization'. As Hockett has pointed out, "Trubetzkoyan phonology does

---

[1] J.W.F. Mulder, "On the Art of Definition, The Double Articulation of Language and Some of the Consequences", Forum For Modern Language Studies, V (1969), p.107.

not stop when phonemes have been determined. Analysis continues in terms of the articulatory (sic) features, simultaneous bundles of which constitute phonemes or allophones (sic) of phonemes....Trubetzkoyan workers then take another step. In French and in Russian, for example, there occur pairs of phonemes, such that the members of each pair share all distinctive features save one, and differ only in that one: thus, p: b, t: d, and so on, the distinguishing feature here being the voicing of the second member of each pair. Each such pair constitutes an Archiphoneme. In French there are no positions (or no important ones) in which p is found but b is not, or conversely; and similarly for the members of each other voiceless-voiced archiphoneme. In Russian, on the other hand, though both voiced and voiceless members occur initially and medially, only a single type is found finally. The difference between voiced and voiceless makes a difference initially and medially, given the proper assortment of other features in a bundle; finally, however, the difference is not functional. Thus byl' (a fact) and pyl' (dust) and zabivát' (to thrust) and zapivát' (to start drinking) are different words, but corresponding to [pópʲ] (priest) there is no [pób], nor is any other such pair to be found. The Trubetzkoyan way

of stating this situation is to say that in final position the opposition between voiced and unvoiced is 'neutralized' and that the [p], that one hears finally, despite its objective similarity to initial and medial [p], is not to be interpreted as phonetically the same, but rather as an occurence of the p/b archiphonemes".[1]

Martinet says the following about the concept of 'archiphoneme': "L'archiphonème est l'ensemble des traits communs à deux ou plus de deux phonèmes qui sont seuls à posséder tous ces traits; le concept s'emploie en pratique dans la cas des phonèmes neutralisables, en particulier lorsque l'archiphonème se réalise effectivement en position de neutralisation".[2] One point that becomes at once clear from this statement is that, unlike Trubetzkoy, Martinet uses the term 'archiphoneme' in its extended sense of possibly including more than two phonemes. Another point that emerges from this statement is that,

---

[1] C.F. Hockett, "Review of Martinet's Phonology as Functional Phonetics," Language, XXXVII (1951) pp.335-336. The earlier part of the quotation shows that Hockett has not completely grasped Martinet's notion 'distinctive feature', since he confuses them with articulatory (phonetic) features.

[2] A. Martinet, "La Notion de neutralisation dans la morphologie et le lexique," Travaux de l'institut de linguistique, II (1957), p.8. (Here quoted from SRP, p.113).

as it was for Trubetzkoy, the concept 'archiphoneme' for Martinet is linked with that of 'neutralization'.

Mulder treats these notions in more or less the same way as Martinet does. That is to say, Mulder also regards them as not merely pertaining to matters of phonetic realization, but as functional notions. Mulder defines 'neutralization' as "the suspension of opposition between distinctive features in a given phonological context",[1] and the notion of 'archiphoneme' as "a phoneme in a sub-system which, when projected in the over-all system, is represented there by two or more phonemes."[2]

Where Mulder's version of functionalism becomes really at variance with that of Martinet is in his treatment of the notion 'linguistic sign'. Mulder regards this notion as being of utmost importance in linguistic theory, because "a theory of the linguistic sign not only determines the form and content of 'grammar' and 'phonology', but that of 'semantics' as well." Mulder goes on to say: "It pervades and determines every area of linguistics, including that of 'phonetics'. "He, therefore,

---

[1] SRP, p.204.

[2] Ibid., p.114.

holds that if the theory of linguistic sign " is a powerful theory, it may lead to powerful linguistics."[1]

The three names most closely associated with the development of the sign-concept in the present century are those of Ferdinand de Saussure, Leonard Bloomfield and Louis Hjelmslev. Of these three, Mulder considers Bloomfield's interpretation of the sign-concept as being 'hopelessly inconsistent'[2] to be of much use. This leaves Mulder with the concept of linguistic sign as expounded by de Saussure and Hjelmslev respectively. The former defined 'linguistic sign' as "une entité psychique à deux faces"; that is, for de Saussure;" Le signe linguistique unit non une chose et un nom mais un concept et une image acoustique".[3] He illustrates this diagram-

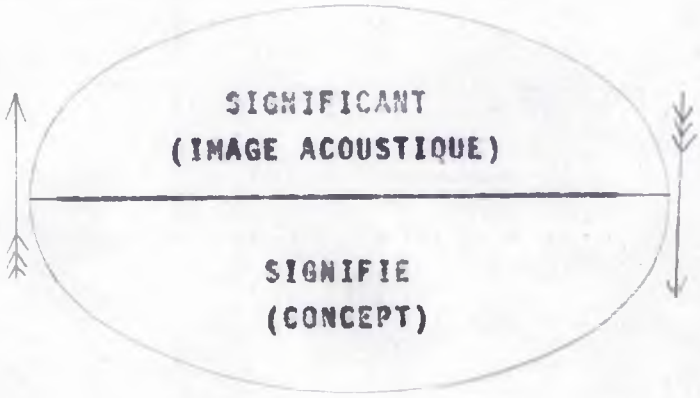
---

[1] J.W.F. Mulder and S.G.J. Hervey, Theory of the Linguistic Sign, (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), p.5. (This book will hereafter be referred to as TLS.)

[2] Ibid., p.6. See also Mulder's article "On the Art of Definition, The Double Articulation of Language and some of the Consequences", Forum for Modern Language Studies, V (1969), pp. 103-117.

[3] F. de Saussure, op. cit., pp.98-99.

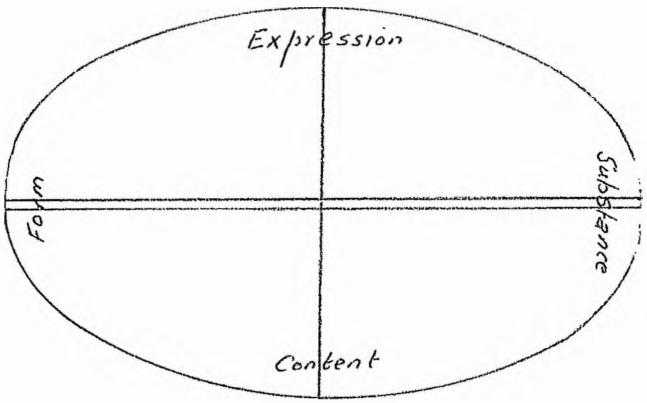
matically as follows:



Because of its vagueness and mentalistic implications, Mulder regards this Saussurian view of the linguistic sign as being important mainly for forming the basis of further development of the concept by later linguists.

Hjelmslev took de Saussure's concept of the linguistic sign, stripped it of its psychologistic connotations, and reduced de Saussure's 'langue-Parole' dichotomy to a mere difference in aspects. He defined the linguistic sign as "... a two-sided entity, with a Janus-like perspective in two directions, and with effect in two respects: "outwards" toward the expression-substance and "inwards" toward the

content-substance."[1] That is to say, the sign for Hjelmslev is a bi-unity of expression and content in the Saussurian sense, but it is conceived by him in terms of an abstract relation rather than in terms of a 'psychological concept' and an 'acoustic image', as it was for de Saussure. Mulder represents Hjelmslev's concept diagrammatically thus:[2]



---

[1] L. Hjelmslev, Prolegomena to a Theory of Language, (trans.) F.J. Whitfield, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), p.58.

[2] SRP, p.34.

From the point of view of functionalism, however, Hjelmslev's interpretation of the sign-concept, in spite of the fact that it is very "consistent and rigorous"[1], is not fully acceptable, because it does not fit the functionalists' attitude of regarding the concept of the double articulation as the defining property of 'language'. As a matter of fact, functionalists like Martinet and Mulder do not divide the science of linguistics right through the notion of 'sign' (as Hjelmslev does); instead they base their division upon the dichotomy of the two articulations. For both Martinet and Mulder the notion 'sign' belongs to the first articulation, i.e. grammar, only.

Mulder, however, does agree with Hjelmslev on two rather important points: for him, as for Hjelmslev, linguistic concepts, e.g. the notion 'sign', have no reality outside the theory itself --- i.e. signs are completely abstract entities; also, like Hjelmslev, Mulder defines the sign in terms of relations.

---

[1] TLS, p.7.

From what has been said in the preceding section, it becomes abundantly clear that both de Saussure and Hjelmslev provided the functionalists in general and Mulder in particular with the basic foundation for further clarifying the notion 'linguistic sign'. Mulder is, in fact, the one functionalist who has worked constantly at this task, and he has developed the notion further than any other linguist of similar persuasion.[1]

Mulder regards the 'formal' aspect and the 'meaning-bearing' aspect - variously referred to as 'signifiant' and 'signifié' respectively (in French, by de Saussure) and 'expression' and 'content' (in English) - as merely being two aspects under which the linguistic sign can be studied. The fact that 'expression' and 'content' (as merely being 'aspects' of the same thing) are regarded as 'inseparably united' amounts to saying that the one implies the other, and vice versa. It may, thus be possible to maintain that either one or the other exclusively determines the identity of the sign, but only because each of the aspects implies, and uniquely determines, the other. The

---

[1] TLS, pp.8/9.

notions 'expression' and 'content' should not be confused with the primitive notions 'form' and 'meaning', because, as Mulder himself explains[1], if one maintained that either 'form' alone, or 'meaning' alone could determine the identity of signs, then this would lead to insurmountable difficulties. Thus, for example, if it were to be held that the identity of a 'sign' could be established by its 'meaning' alone, this would lead one to the inevitable, but unfortunate, conclusion that synonyms (e.g. 'fellow' and 'bloke') were identical signs. Similarly, if it were to be held that the identity of a 'sign' could be established by its 'form' alone, this would lead one to the inevitable conclusion that homonyms (e.g.'hair' and 'hare') were identical signs. Moreover allomorphs (e.g. the different forms of the 'plural' in English) would be different signs.

There is yet another point that Mulder clarifies in this connection. This concerns the precise interpretation of the term 'expression' and its relation "to phonological, and ultimately phonetic form."[2] Mulder points out the falsity of the rather common view that takes 'expression' to mean just phonological form. The result of interpreting 'expression' in this way could lead, in actual practice,

---

[1] TLS, Chapter III, especially pp.26-27.

[2] J.W.F. Mulder, "Linguistic Sign, Word and Grammateme", La Linguistique, VII (1971), p.93.

to many unsatisfactory consequences. To avoid such a pitfall, Mulder clarifies the concept of 'morph' or 'allomorph' in his theory. This concept enables him to regard expression as a 'class of allomorphs'. As 'allomorphs' have 'phonological form', through the notion 'allomorph' a link can be established between 'expression' and 'phonological form'. But, again, 'allomorph' should not be confused with 'phonological form', but - unlike 'sign', or 'expression' - it <u>has</u> phonological form in a <u>direct</u> sense. Thus, if we say of a 'sign' or 'expression' that it "<u>has</u> 'phonological form', we can only mean that it has at least one allomorph that is not 'zero'. If we say of an allomorph that it <u>has</u> phonological form, we mean that its form is not 'zero', but we do not deny the possibility that some allomorphs may have zero form, e.g. the allomorph of the plural in 'sheep'. We see that 'form' of allomorphs cannot mean the same thing as 'form' of expressions."[1]

Mulder defines 'sign' as "the conjunction of an expression and a content in an equivalence relation."[2]

Finally, it might be pointed out that as a result of this particular view that Mulder holds about the linguistic sign, he succeeds in ultimately relating the separate levels of linguistic analysis (referred to in the earlier part of this discussion) to one another. These 'levels' no longer remain so many isolated 'units', not connected with, or related to, each other; they, in fact, become 'parts' of the same whole, i.e. 'language'.

---

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid, p.95.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER THREE

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN PAKISTAN

In order to place the discussion in this work of the relevance of linguistics to the teaching of English in Pakistan in its proper perspective, I shall deal in this chapter with the following points in some detail:

(i) The linguistic situation in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent during the British rule.

(ii) The general situation concerning the special position of the English language in the sub-continent until 1947.

(iii) The linguistic situation in Pakistan at the time of her birth in August 1947.

(iv) The position of the English language in Pakistan since 1947, and its future prospects there.

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE SUB-CONTINENT DURING THE BRITISH RULE

It would be out of place to discuss in any detail the history of the British ascendance to power in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It is sufficient to say that the British presence there began with the establish-:ment, in 1600 A.D.? of the East India Company by a group of private merchants. Under the cover of trade and commerce, the East India Company actively participated in the events that ultimately led to the disintegration of the Mogul Empire, especially after the death of the last of the great Moguls, Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, in

1707 A.D. In 1757 A.D., the representatives of the East India Company under Robert Clive defeated the Mogul Subahdar (or viceroy) of Bengal, Nawab Sirajud-:dowla, at the Battle of Plassey, and thereby wrested the virtual control of the province. The other centres of Muslim power crumbled one by one: Mysore, in South India, disappeared as a Muslim state in 1799 when Tipu Sultan was defeated and slain at the Battle of Sirangapatam. Thus, the British had become the de facto rulers of the sub-continent by the end of the eighteenth century - although the British monarch was not formally proclaimed the ruler of India until after the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 had been crushed.

The linguistic situation of the sub-continent at the time when the British achieved ascendancy there was - and still is - a very confused one. There were literally hundreds of major and minor languages spoken by groups of people of various sizes in different parts of the sub-continent, many of them mutually unintelli-:gible.

However, of all these, four languages - two indigenous and two foreign - stood out as more important than the rest. Persian was the court language, and it was, therefore, the official language as well; Arabic and Sanskrit were the languages of learning and of religion for the Muslims and the Hindus respectively; Urdu, which had evolved over a period of centuries as

a by-product of cultural contacts between the local population in the northern regions of the sub-continent and the Muslims - Arabs, Iranians, Turks and others - who came in successive waves as invaders, traders or missionaries. The base of the language remains indigenous, from a stock of Indo-Aryan 'prakrits' or dialects that prevailed north of Delhi in what is now Haryana Pant and parts of the Gangetic plain. Urdu developed through popular contact. In its earlier form, it is indistinguishable from Hindi 'Khari Boli'. The outside influence affected mainly the vocabulary and the script in which Urdu came to be written - a modified version of nasta'alique Persian. With a singular capacity for assimilation, Urdu has absorbed thousands of words from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and, later, from English and Portugese. The name Urdu came into vogue in the last century, but before that the language had variously been known as Hindu, Hindvi, Hindustani and Rekhta in different periods of its history.

THE GENERAL SITUATION CONCERNING THE SPECIAL POSITION OF ENGLISH IN THE SUB-CONTINENT UNTIL 1947

In the beginning, the British did not try to impose the use of the English language on the sub-continent; in fact, even a man like Warren Hastings (1732-1818), who was the first British Governor

General of India, from 1772 to 1885, and who had no love for the natives, regarded it as the "bounden duty of the British to keep alive the flames of Sanskrit and Arabic Persian learning."[I]

But this attitude underwent a change during the 1820's and 1830's - a change typified by Lord Macaulay (1800-1859), who came to India in 1834 as a member of the newly created Supreme Council of India. Lord Macaulay was also very keenly interested in education, and he made a study of the native languages of the sub-continent to see if any one of them could be used as a vehicle for spreading western knowledge amongst the natives. His conclusions were not only interesting, but extremely significant too, since it was these findings of his which ultimately came to be the corner-stone of the British educational policy in the sub-continent.

Macaulay's conclusions were, predictably enough, rather uncharitable to the native languages, which, he thought, had "neither literature nor scientific information and are moreover so poor and rude that, until

---

[I]Quoted in A.R. Wadia, The Future of English in India (Bombay:Asia Publishing House, 1954), p.4.

they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them."[1] After passing this stricture against the Indian languages, Macaulay went on to recommend English as the language "best worth knowing" and "most useful to our native subjects."[2] He was, however, opposed to any idea of imparting this education in, and through, English to all who wished to have it. Instead Macauley wanted to restrict it to a small minority, so that a class of people could be formed who "may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern - a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morlas and in intellect."[3]

When the Indians first started learning the English language, they did so because of practical and material considerations. A knowledge of English not only provided them with a means of better livelihood with which went a great amount of respect and prestige, but it also brought them closer to their rulers. This materialistic and utilitarian attitude of a few of their compatriots was naturally resented by the vast

---

[1]Macaulay's Minute of 2 February 1835, in H. Sharp (ed.), Selections from Educational Records Part 1 (Bureau of Education,1920),pp.109-117. Here the quotation is given from J.Dakin,"Language and Education in India," Language in Education, J.Dakin,B.Tiffen and H.G. Widdowson (London:O.U.P.,1968),p.6.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., pp.6-7

majority of the natives, who little realised that, in fact, they were not marching with the times.

As already mentioned, the primary motive that prompted the Indians to learn English was material. This, however, did not remain so - not entirely, at any rate - for very long. People started learning English for a number of other reasons as well. For example, the natives began to learn English because it introduced them to modern knowledge, and to a new world of ideas and thoughts. As a matter of fact, the English language proved to be a rather big influence in the sub-continent's struggle for independence, because it was through this language that the people of British India were first introduced to the works of great intellectuals of the West, such as Edmund Burke (1729-1797), Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), John Ruskin (1819-1900), and a host of others.

As the familiarity of the Indians with the English language grew, they gradually came to feel the increasing lure of English literature. The latter offered some very different genres from those of their own liter-:ature. The impact of English as a language of literature has, in fact, been so great that it has remained fascinating even today for the literary-minded natives of the sub-continent. The latter have always looked upon English as a sophisticated and beautiful

medium of expression. The English language has, therefore, had from the very beginning not only snob-value, but intellectual and cultural value as well.

Soon after wresting the control of a large part of the sub-continent (i.e. about the beginning of the last century), the British introduced the English language as a subject in the Indian schools in 1835, and as the medium of instruction at college and university levels. (This, however, did not affect institutions like maktabs and madressahs. These institutions were run by the religious organizations of the Muslims, and their teaching was restricted to that of the Islamic subjects. There were a variety of reasons why these institutions refused to modernize their curricula, but perhaps the most important reason was the common belief amongst the Muslims of the sub-continent that, after having crushed their political power during the preceding few decades, the British were now intent on destroying their faith and culture as well by introducing a secular, and thereby un-Islamic, bias in the educational set-up. The intensity of this suspicion could be gauged from the fact that even to this day a substantial number of maktabs and madressahs in the sub-continent exclude the teaching of English from their curricula.)

Besides introducing the English language as a subject in the Indian schools, and as the medium of

instruction at the higher levels of education, English-medium schools were also established all over India. The instruction in these schools was given in English right from the beginning, i.e. from the lower kinder-:garten. These were, in fact, privileged schools, and the admission of a child into one of them automat-:ically conferred a high and priviliged status upon him or her. The instruction at the college and university levels was no doubt also given in English, but it was the atmosphere of these English-medium schools that set them apart from the colleges and even the universities. Students of such schools would adopt English as their medium of communication amongst themselves, and thereby attach more of a snob-value to English than an intellectual one. Moreover, it was mostly students from these English-medium schools who went into the Indian Civil Service, and in this way English became doubly important as the language of the sub-continent's administration.

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN PAKISTAN AT THE TIME OF HER BIRTH IN 1947

The language situation inherited by Pakistan on the eve of her birth in August 1947 was far from homo-:geneous: there were at least six major languages that were spoken in the country as mother-tongues. These were Bangla (in East Pakistan), Punjabi (in the Punjab), Pushto (in the North Western Frontier Province), Sindhi

(in Sind), and Baluchi and Brahui[1] (in Baluchistan). The degree of linguistic homogeneity differed from province to province: it was highest in East Pakistan, where almost 99% of the population[2] spoke Bangla as its mother-tongue, while it was lowest in Baluchistan, where the break-up of the various L-I's was as follows:

Baluchi	33.5%	of	the population
Pushto	28.1%	"	" "
Brahui	15.8%	"	" "
Sindhi	12.2%	"	" "
Punjabi	7.4%	"	" "
Others	3.0%	"	" "

As for Urdu, although it was the major language of literacy and the most important lingua franca of the Muslims of India even during British rule, yet it was not the L-I of any of the people of the areas that constituted Pakistan. It was introduced as an L-I into the country with the arrival of the Urdu-speaking Muslim refugees from India after its partition by the British in 1947. The distribution of different mother-tongues in Pakistan and its two provinces is given in Table I and Figure I (over).

---

[1]Brahui is a curious outlier of the Dravidian family of languages, which, but for Brahui, are confined entirely to South India. All other languages of Pakistan belong to the Indo-European family of languages.(This classif-:ication of language families is based on Sir George Grierson's monumental work, Linguistic Survey of India. An abbreviated version of Grierson's classification is given in Appendix A.

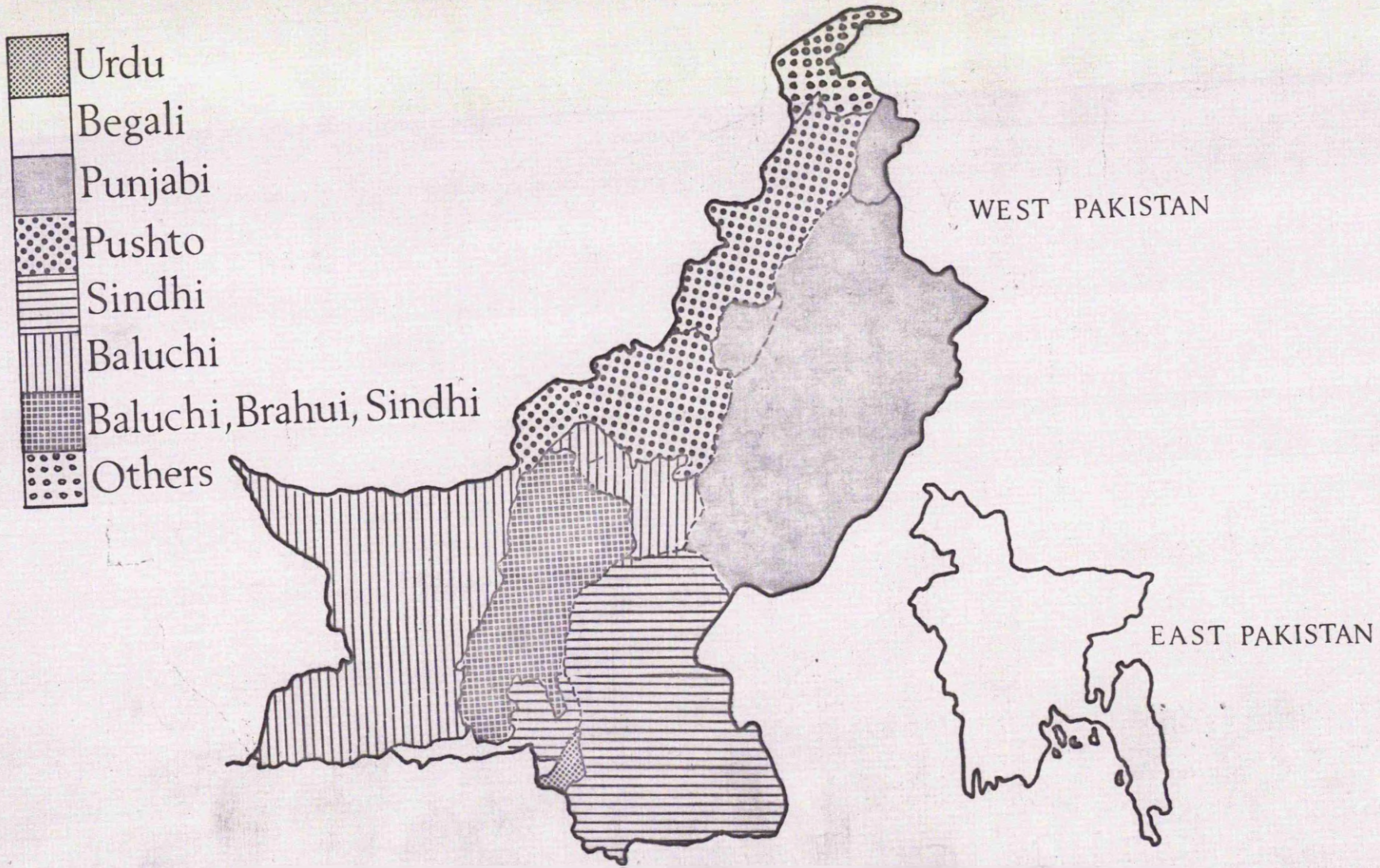
[2]This, and all subsequent figures are, unless stated otherwide, based on the Report of Pakistan's Census Commission, 1961.

DISTRIBUTION OF L-I's : PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION

	Bangla	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Urdu	Baluchi	Brahui	English	Others
Pakistan	55.48	29.01	3.70	5.51	3.65	1.09	0.41	.02	1.12
E. Pakistan	98.42	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.61	-	-	.01	0.92
W. Pakistan	0.12	66.39	8.47	12.59	7.57	2.49	0.93	.04	1.40
[2]*Punjab	-	92.08	0.05	0.01	4.04	0.01	-	-	-
*N.W.F.P.	-	32.07	64.09	-	2.02	-	-	-	-
*Sind	0.01	4.09	0.07	71.07	10.02	6.06	2.03	-	-
Karachi	1.03	12.08	5.02	7.01	53.09	5.03	1.00	-	-
*Baluchistan	0.01	7.04	28.01	12.02	1.07	33.05	15.08	-	-

[2]Areas marked with an asterisk formed the unified province of West Pakistan in 1961 but they have now been made into federal provinces.

Table 1



Distribution Of Major Languages (L-1's) In Pakistan

Fig no. I

As long as the British remained in the sub-continent, the linguistic differences of its people remained buried under the overall superiority of English as the language of the government and of higher education. However, once independence was achieved these differences came to the surface when the question of replacing English was, inevitably, raised. It was then that in both India and Pakistan the speakers of different languages started to put forward claims for their respective mother tongues to be given the status of the national language. This led to political controversies over language, which brought some bloody incidents. India, with its greater area and wider variety of languages, has experienced greater violence, but Pakistan too has had its share.

During the period that the Muslims of the sub-continent were fighting for the creation of Pakistan, no clear-cut policy was laid down with regard to the question of the national language of the country once it had come into existence. This failure on the part of the leaders of the Pakistan Movement to formulate a clear-cut language policy could be attributed to a general lack of foresight on their part to anticipate the various problems that the new country which they were trying to create would face. However, a far more important reason was the status of Urdu that led the Muslim leaders to take it for granted that Urdu

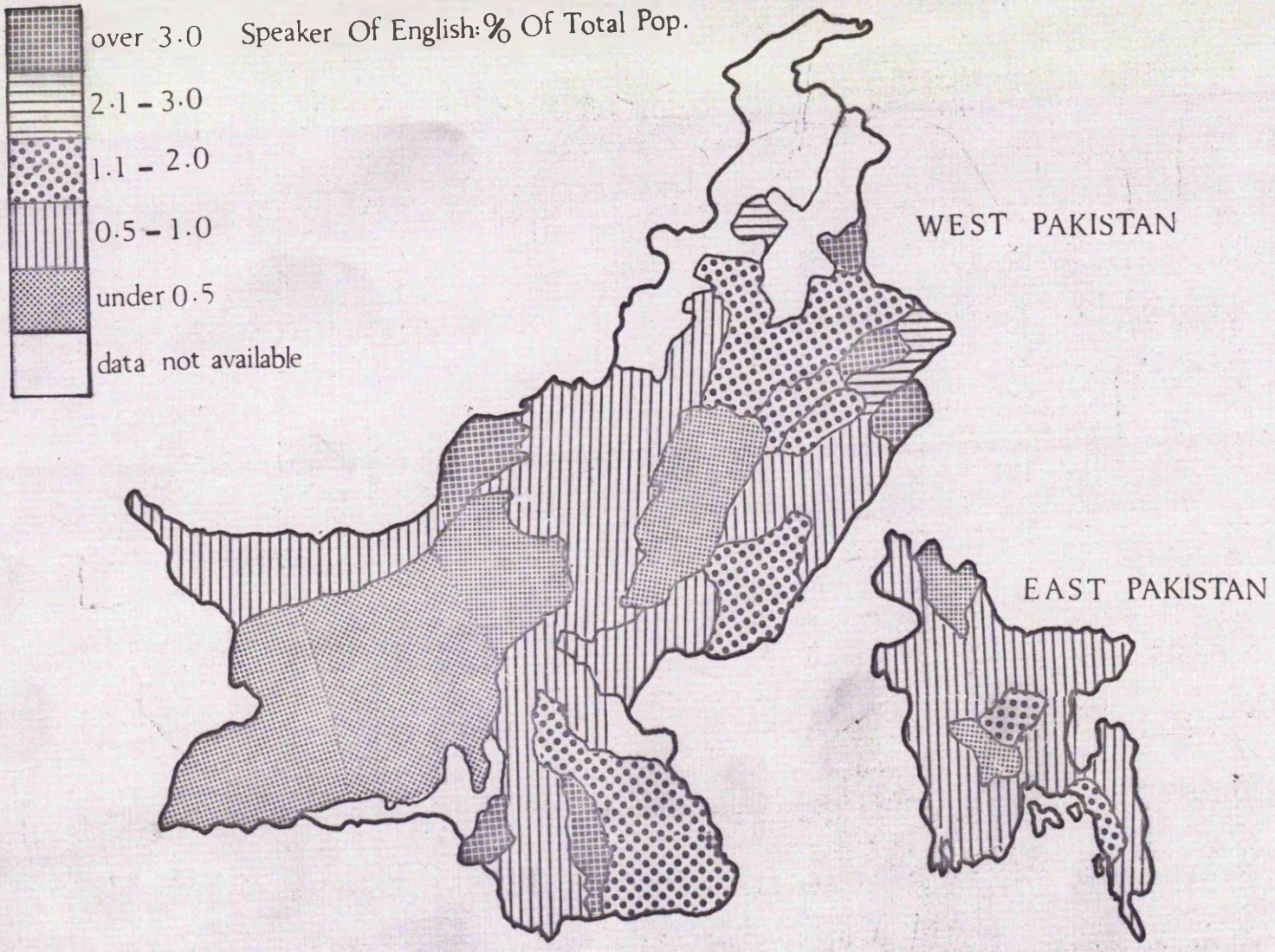
would become the national language of the new country. After all, Urdu had not only been the lingua franca of the muslims of the sub-continent ever since the downfall of the Moguls, but it also had the added advantage of not being the mother tongue of any of the people of the areas that, it was hoped, would constitute Pakistan. The latter point, it was thought, enhanced the 'neutral' status of Urdu, so that, if it were made the national language of the country, no indigenous linguistic community would have any cause for complaint about the domination of this or that particular language group.

However, all these pious hopes about the acceptance of Urdu by popular acclamation as the only national language of the country were soon to be disappointed. Shortly after the birth of Pakistan, a very strong and, as it turned out later, violent movement was started in East Pakistan for the adoption of Bangla as the country's national language. The main argument for this demand was that a majority (i.e. 55.48%) of Pakistan's total population spoke Bangla as its mother tongue. The authorities found themselves completely unprepared for this turn of events, and they reacted in a way which further worsened the situation. At first, attempts were made to brand Bangla-supporters as being the enemies of the newly-born country, and, when this failed to have the desired effect,

tougher measures were introduced to crush the Bangla Movement. This led to some rather serious and bloody riots in 1951 and 1952. As the policy of repression against the Bangla-supporters was being implemented by civil servants and administrators who came mostly from West Pakistan (for reasons that are not relevant here), the people of East Pakistan came to regard Urdu as the language of West Pakistan (although, in fact, only a little over 7½% of the total population of West Pakistan spoke Urdu as its L-I). The people of East Pakistan thus became implacably opposed to the adoption of Urdu as the country's sole national language. After it had become obvious to the authorities that they could not hope to impose Urdu as the national language without further rioting and bloodshed by the supporters of Bangla, they gave in, and, in May 1954, a compromise formula was agreed to which gave the status of national language to both Urdu and Bangla.

THE POSITION OF ENGLISH IN PAKISTAN AND ITS FUTURE THERE

At the time of partition, English was the sole language of administration, of law (except in Civil Courts, where Urdu had been used since 1837), of the armed services and police, and much of the secondary and higher education. (The distribution of English as a spoken language in Pakistan is shown in Figure 2 on page 120). As English was regarded, not unnaturally, as an instrument of imperialism, and, as such, a



Distribution Of English As Spoken Language

Fig no. 3.

national indignity, its position in Pakistan was bound to come under challenge with the advent of independence. This challenge, however, took quite some time to surface, mainly because it took Pakistan a while before it was able to sort out the chaotic conditions it found itself in at the time of independence. But, once things had somewhat settled down, there appeared quite a few Pakistanis who demanded that the English language should be immediately replaced by the national languages[I]. This cry for the immediate abolition of the use of the English language in the administration and the educat-:ional system of the country, and its replacement by the national languages, had its roots in the bitterness stemming from the long period of domination and exploitation of the sub-continent by the British rulers. But it was not only out of spite that this demand for the banishment of English from Pakistan was being made; many people did so because they were convinced that this demand of theirs not only had the sanction of

---

[I] The eagerness with which the domains of English were attacked in the early years of Pakistan are described by E.W. Mulcahy in Survival of the English Language as a Bedding Force in India and Pakistan, Ninth Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, Washington D.C., April 1967 (mimeograph).

scientific thought on linguistic issues[I], but was also justified by the following reasons:

(i) National language is a powerful force for developing a sense of nationality. It is one of the basic elements that wields people into homogeneous units. It is a symbol of a nation's dignity, and it fosters national pride;

(ii) The use of the same language by the intelli-:gentsia and the masses removes class distinctions and makes available to the common man the benefits of the highest cultural and educational attain-:ments of the top-most thinkers and reformers.

(iii) Education through the medium of a foreign language places an enormous strain on the students, forcing them to memorize and to spend an undue proportion of their time of learning the L-2. On the other hand, education in the national language enables the students to devote more time to the acquisition of knowledge and the development of their intellectual capabilities. It leads to original thinking and promotes facility in writing.

[I] See the Report of the meeting held in Paris in 1951 to consider the role and function of vernacular languages in education-both as a subject and as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge. This Report, which was published by U.N.E.S.C.O., recommended the employment of mother tongue as the medium of instruction as far up the educational ladder as possible.

It develops imagination, initiative and creative thinking;

(iv) With the development of the national language and its use at the higher educational levels, the literature produced on the various subjects, professions, trades, etc., becomes intelligible to the common man.

There were, however, persons who could take a detached view of the whole situation, and these men were convinced that if the study of English was done away with in Pakistan with undue haste, the work of more than a hundred years would be undone. Moreover, these men also clearly saw practical difficulties involved in acceding to the popular demand for the immediate banishment of the English language. Firstly, these persons realised that linguistic change of the order involved had to be a slow - and, ultimately, a natural - process. That is to say, neither the demise of a language can be ensured by passing an edict to that effect, nor can major changes in linguistic habits be brought about by the mere proclamation of a deadline. Secondly, these men were also aware of the state of unpreparedness of the national languages to take on the new burden at a short notice. This was especially true of Urdu, which, from the time of India's formal annexation by Britain in 1857, had developed mainly

along literary and academic lines.[I] Thirdly, these men contended that English was not only one of the most important international languages, but it was also the one which was already more widespread in the country than any other foreign language. Moreover, most of the people from Pakistan who went abroad for higher education and/or training went to the English-speaking countries, such as Britain, United States of America, Australia, etc.. It was, therefore, regarded as imperative that the teaching of English in Pakistan should not be brought to a complete stop.

These people had an important, if somewhat strange, ally in the civil service, which, in the beginning, was composed of those muslim members of the Indian Civil Service who had opted for service in Pakistan at the time of the partition of the subcontinent. There were two main reasons that led the civil service to oppose

---

[I] Some attempts were made before 1857 to produce scientific works in Urdu. For example, in 1838, a Translation Bureau was founded in Hyderabad Deccan. This Bureau translated a number of books into Urdu on mechanics, climatology, optics, electricity and magnetism. At Delhi College, Delhi, a total of 150 books were translated into Urdu. Of these, 51 books dealt with various sciences. The College also did some important work in formulating the principles of translating the technical terms. About a dozen books - dealing with hydraulics, meteorology, optics, heat, physics, mathematical instruments, magnetism and electricity - were translated by one Kamaluddin who was

(continued on next page)

any move to immediately replace English with national languages. One reason had to do with the rather abrupt way in which Britain withdrew from the subcontinent. This forced the civil servants to turn to the tools of their pre-partition experiences: as the latter was couched in the medium of English, it was obviously impossible for the civil servants to relinquish it at a short notice. Another reason was that these civil servants - and especially those amongst them who were directly appointed to the officer cadre after passing the competitive examinations held for the purpose - were, as one would expect, somewhat 'anglophiles', desirous of retaining as much of the English language and the English way of life as possible.

This alliance succeeded, for a few years at least, in resisting the popular demand for the immediate replacement of English with Urdu and Bangla. English thus continued to dominate the educational and

---

[1](contd.) an employee of the Government Observatory at Lucknow.
After 1857, the work of developing scientific literature in Urdu began with the formation, in 1863, of the Scientific Society at Aligarh. This Society was responsible for the translation of some forty books. The most important contribution in this connection was, however made by the Translation Bureau that was established in 1916 at Hyderabad Deccan after it had been decided to establish a university - Jamia Osmania - where the medium of instruction at all levels and in all faculties would be Urdu. Of the four hundred books - that included standard books on almost all the subjects - that were translated or compiled by this Board, over 275 books were on various sciences.

administrative life of the country until 1955, when the demand for supplanting it with the national languages became so strong that it could be ignored no longer. There was, however, no sudden reversal of policy, and, instead, all sorts of compromises were suggested, and some middle-of-the-road policies were evolved. The position today, for example, at most of the schools, colleges and the universities of Pakistan is that Urdu (in West Pakistan)[I] and

---

[I] The A Pilot English Language Survey for West Pakistan, compiled by R.H.S. Cook (under publication), showed that in West Pakistan 37.9% of the institutions of higher education which took part in the Survey had abandoned English as instructional medium. Those who relied on English as a medium of instruction used it for 41.4% of their Arts teaching and for 72.6% of their Science teaching. (This Survey was conducted in 1968.)

Bangla (in East Pakistan) have been allowed as alternative media of instruction.[I] Needless to say, an overwhelming majority of the students choose either Urdu or Bangla as their medium, and, as a rule, only those students offer English as their medium who have been educated in English-medium institutions.

It is in the light of this background that the student's relationship with the English language in Pakistan today must be studied. It will not be wrong to say that it is a case of mixed feelings. A large majority of students take it as a duty - and a very painful duty at that - to learn English. The average student is put in a situation which, to say the least, is not a very happy one. Most of the time such a student is struggling with English, with the result that the learning of other subjects suffers grievously. There is still another class of students who learn the English language as a matter of course, feeling neither very happy nor very miserable. In this group, one may come across students who show an extraordinary linguistic

---

[I] A complete switch over to the national languages as the media of instruction at all levels of education was at first envisaged for 1973, but in March 1970, the Government amended this decision to provide for the establishment by 1972, of a Language Commission instead to look into the whole problem of replacing English. This whole issue has, however, once again been thrown into the melting pot with the change of government in December, 1971. As far as I am aware, the present government has not formulated any fixed policy vis-a-vis the position of English in Pakistan.

skill, and thus rise very high in life. The happiest group, however, is of those students who still remain emotionally attached to English; they do their studies in it with ease and facility. More often than not this group alienates itself from the general social and cultural pattern of the society. They come to adopt the western modes of thought and life more easily, partly because of their family background, without undergoing those complex processes of tension and conflicts which some of those emerging from the other two groups have to undergo.

What is the future of the English language in Pakistan? This would be a difficult question to answer in any case, but it has become much more so at this stage when the country itself is in such a state of upheaval. Moreover, the identification of English in popular imagination with the upper strata of Pakistani society further bedevils the whole question, making it difficult, if not totally impossible, to resolve the problem in a dispassionate and rational way. The 'upper class' is regarded as being responsible for creating class distinction in education by favouring English-medium institutions, especially the 'cadet' colleges, the 'public' schools run on the British pattern, and missionary schools - to all of which admission is guaranteed by wealth and influence. This

is not an incorrect interpretation as such, but it is unfortunate because of the following reasons:

(i) it overlooks the necessary connexion between English and the country's elite. It is now becoming increasingly obvious to the education authorities in Pakistan that the universal teaching of English is neither practicable, nor perhaps even desirable. The implication of this for the teaching of English is that the latter will ultimately have to be on a selective basis - and this will, in turn, inevitably lead to the creation of an 'elite' class in the country associated with English;

(ii) it masks many other reasons due to which English will remain in heavy and continuing demand in Pakistan for a long time to come. The most important of these reasons are the following:

(a) it enables the country to have access to the latest works of research being done in the fields of science and technology all over the world. That English in this respect is objectively more important, than, say, French, German or Russian, is shown by the following two examples. In 1965, R.T. Beyer carried out an examination of the languages used for papers abstracted in two journals, namely Physics Abstract (3000 abstracts) and Referativny Zhurnal (350 abstracts). His findings[I] revealed the following facts:

	English	Russian	French	German	Others
Physics Abs.	76%	14%	4%	4%	2%
R. Zhurnal	63%	24%	3%	2%	8%

[I] These were published in Language and Machines: Computers in Translation and Linguistics, National Academy of Sciences - National Research Council, Washington, 1967, p.4.

A similar finding was reported by B. Enriquez in a paper[I] that he read at the First National Seminar on English for Science and Technology, held in Chile in August 1971. Enriquez referred to a recent survey in thirteen departments of physical sciences and mathematics of the University of Chile at Santiago which showed that, on an average, over 40% of the reading assignment in the first undergraduate year was in English, and this percentage rose to 65 in the postgraduate courses.

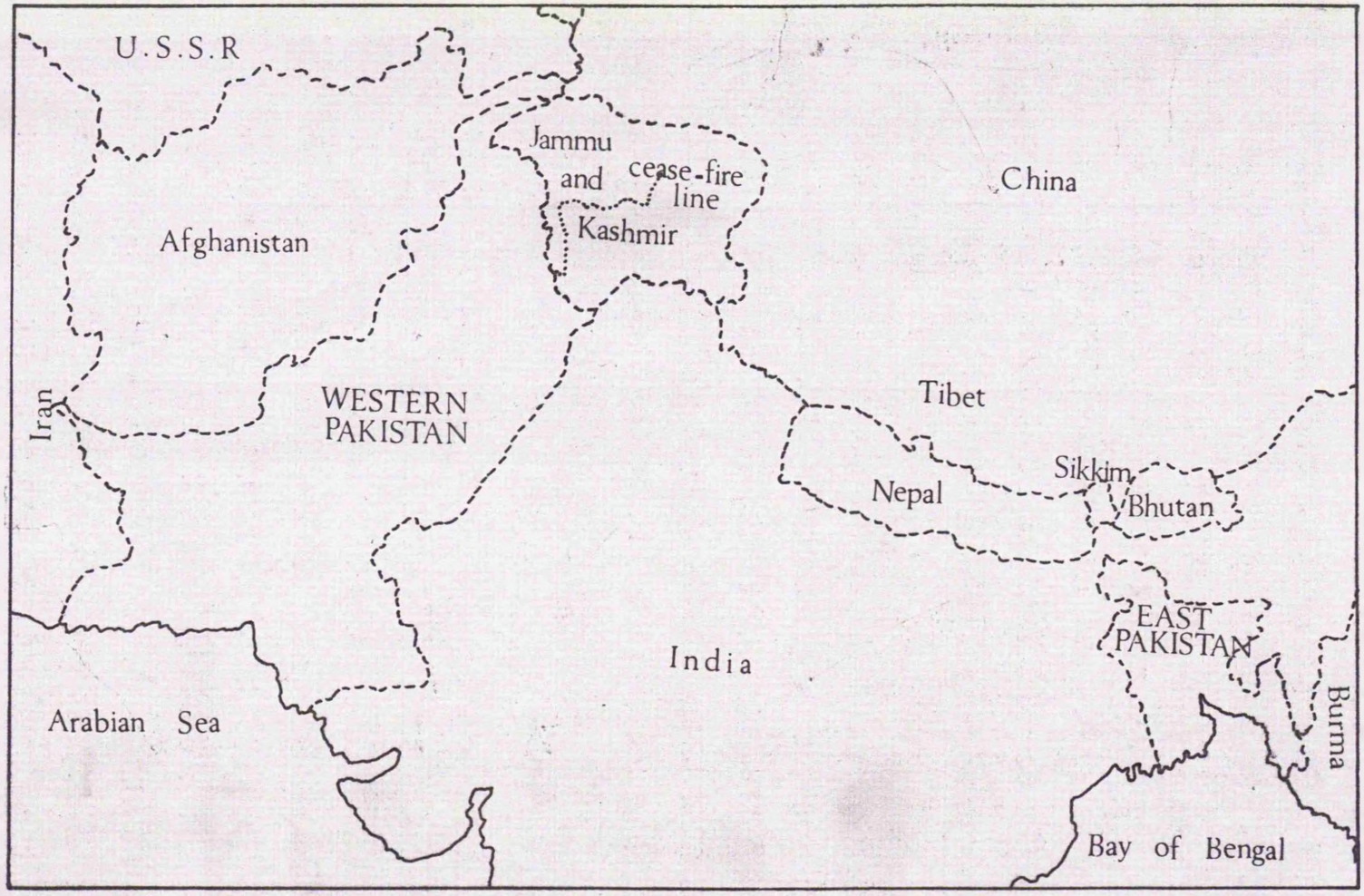
(b) it is necessary for higher academic pursuits - both inside the country as well as abroad - because it is, more than any other European language, lingua franca of the academic world.

(c) it has become during the last few years the language which links the two wings of Pakistan, i.e. it has become a sort of lingua franca over and above Urdu and Bangla, the first one of which is itself a lingua franca.

[I] B. Enriquez, The International and National Importance of English for Science and Technology. (unpublished paper.)

This might not be admitted by everybody, but it is, in my opinion, true, and will continue to remain so in the forseeable future. The reason why I maintain this assertion perhaps needs some explanation. I shall, therefore, try and give in brief the politico-linguistic situation obtaining in Pakistan, which has helped the English language to continue to occupy much the same social and administrative territory as it did in 1947.

Pakistan is composed of two wings: East and West, and these are separated by more than a thousand miles of perpetually hostile Indian territory (see map on page 133). This physical separation is made all the worse because of the linguistic and cultural differences between the two wings of the country. As I have already mentioned, linguistically, East Pakistan is a homogeneous area, whereas West Pakistan is a heterogeneous one; moreover, the language of East Pakistan, that is Bangla, has hardly anything in common with the languages of West Pakistan. Bangla is written in Devanagari script and is greatly influenced by Sanskrit, while most of the West Pakistani languages follow modified versions of Arabic script and show very great influence of either Arabic or Persian, or both. Bangla is hardly spoken or understood in West Pakistan, and the same is true of latter's indigenous languages in East Pakistan. Urdu, besides English, is the only language which is spoken and understood, either as



PAKISTAN & SURROUNDING STATES.

Source: The American University, Area H'book Of Pak, 1962

L-I or L-2, to some extent in both parts of Pakistan. But whatever chance Urdu might have had in the beginning (i.e. early years of Pakistan) of acting as the cement with which to bind the two wings closer disappeared after it was decided tn 1954 to make both Bangla and Urdu the national languages of Pakistan.

After the decision referred to above had been made, it was felt that unless some quick steps were taken, a complete breakdown of communication between the people of the two wings would become inevitable. Accordingly, plans were made to make Bangla in West Pakistan and Urdu in East Pakistan compulsory up to the B.A. level. This was thought of as the minimum that could be done to bring about national integration. Unfortunately, however, the ever increasing animosity between East and West Pakistan, coupled with mutual distrust and unwillingness to accomodate each other's views, never really gave a chance for these proposals to be implemented in earnest. Isolated, and half-hearted, attempts were made to implement the plan in the country, but when these, naturally enough, failed to make any headway, even such efforts were discontinued.

This resulted in further accelerating the polarization between the two wings, and in the sixties the relationship between East and West Pakistan became extremely bad. An obvious manifestation of this strained relationship was the unwillingness of even those Bangla-

speakers, who could speak Urdu, to communicate with their West Pakistani compatriots in that language. They (i.e. the Bangla-speakers) preferred to use a 'neutral' language which was not associated with West Pakistan, but which the people of the latter could also use for communication. In the context of Pakistan, only English could fulfil this role, and, thus, it has become indispensable for the unity of Pakistan as a country.

> (d) the predominance of the armed services - which depend entirely on English for almost all purposes (e.g. education, training, command intercommunication, equipment, maintenance, etc.) - in national life.[I]

[I] It might be recalled here that since 1958, when the first military take-over occured, Pakistan had been under direct or indirect military rule for a total of almost 12 years. This has naturally resulted in the assumption of wide and extensive administrative powers by the personnel of armed services.

The situation as outlined above seems to have secured the future of English in Pakistan for quite some time to come. However, viewed strictly from a nationalistic point of view, a foreign language can not be allowed to have this sort of stranglehold for ever. The best alternative, in my opinion, is therefore, the adoption of a language policy that would aim at making the country in general, and the literate section of it in particular, bilingual. 'Bilingualism' has been variously defined by different linguists. Bloomfield, for example, regards it as "native-like control over two languages".[1] For Vachek bilinguals are those "speakers who have an equally good command of both language systems".[2] For Einar Haugen 'bilingualism' begins at "the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language".[3] This definition was later revised by Haugen to regard 'bilingualism' as a "cover term for those people with a number of

---

[1] L. Bloomfield, Language (New York: 1933), p.56.

[2] J. Vachek, The Linguistic School of Prague (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p.25.

[3] E. Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), I, p.7.

different language skills, having in common only that they are not monolinguals. A monolingual is a person who knows only one language".[1] Weinreich defines 'bilingualism' as "the practice of alternately using two languages".[2] In my opinion, of all these definitions the one given by Weinreich is the most satisfactory one because the degree of proficiency, equal ability and specification of active or passive skills for each language are not involved in it. The definition, therefore, makes it possible to include a wide range of language behaviour under the term 'bilingualism'.

There is obviously no cut and dried method which would make the country bilingual. However, to me the best way of achieving this aim seems to lie in the resurrection and implementation of the proposal that was made after both Bangla and Urdu had been declared Pakistan's national languages. This proposal, it might be recalled, stressed the need of introducing Urdu in East Pakistan and Bangla in West Pakistan right up to the B.A. level. This proposal in fact seems to

---

[1] E. Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americans: A Bibliography and Research Guide (Alabama: Publications of the American Dialect Society XXVI, 1956), p.9.

[2] U. Weinreich, Languages in Contact (New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York I, 1953), p.1.

be strikingly similar[I] to one of the seven options that le Page suggests[2] about the possible linguistic arrangements to cope with a language situation like that of Pakistan. According to this option, Urdu in West Pakistan and Bangla in East Pakistan would be used at all levels of educations; moreover, Urdu and Bangla would be introduced in East Pakistan and West Pakistan respectively as second languages from the lowest level onward, while English would be introduced at a later stage.

[I]The author is not able to say whether this similarity was deliberate or purely coincidental. As far as he is aware no mention of Le Page was made when the proposal was originally put forward in Pakistan in 1954.

[2]R. B. Le Page, Possible Roles for English, an Unpublished paper that was read in Dublin in March 1965 at the International Conference on Second Language Problems.

SECTION THREE

CHAPTER FOUR

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING IN EUROPE

Language teaching, and specially foreign language teaching, is nothing new; it has been done by scholars all over the world for hundreds of years. That this is so can be shown by, for example, tracing back the history of the teaching of the L-2's in Europe to the period before the rise of the Roman Empire. However, before doing that, I think I should make clear at this point that, but for a few exceptions, no distinction is made in this work between 'language teaching' and 'language learning'. This is not because this distinction is not recognized, but because this work is mainly concerned with the problem of language teaching. The discussions in this thesis are, therefore, language-teaching orientated. Moreover, the purpose of language teaching (as indeed of all teaching) is to enable the learners to 'learn' the language; that is to say, in spite of the fact that 'teaching' and 'learning' are distinct processes, they are intimately connected in so far that the former leads (or should do) to the latter. It is, therefore, felt that this distinction could be ignored for the purpose of this work.

At the time preceding the rise of the Roman Empire to its zenith, Greek was still regarded as the language of culture and civilization. The Romans, therefore, studied it as an L-2, and they did this by employing Greek teachers.

Further, to reinforce the formal teaching by these teachers, the Romans kept such slaves and household staff as could speak Greek.

The situation, however, radically changed with the expansion of the Roman Empire during the third and second centuries B.C. The political and military domination that thus resulted was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the prestige and influence of Latin. The growing importance of the latter ultimately became so great that, by the beginning of the Middle Ages (i.e. sixth century A.D.), Greek was forced to cede to Latin the status of Europe's most important language. Latin thus became the language of religion, literature, philosophy, diplomacy and to a large extent even of commerce. Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of medieval life in Europe was the large part played by the Christian Church in nearly all fields of endeavour, after Christianity had become the religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century A.D. In those days the vernacular was never the language of literature and scholarship. Almost all schools were conducted by the Church in Latin. To read and write the latter, therefore, had a most practical value.

As Jespersen has explained, the object of teaching Latin during the Middle Ages and later was not a purely scientific one of imparting knowledge for its own sake, simply in order to widen the spiritual horizon and to obtain

the joy of pure intellectual understanding. Latin was not even taught and learned solely with the purpose of opening the doors to the old classical or the more recent religious literature in that language. Latin was a practical and a highly important means of communication between educated people. One had to learn not only to speak and to read Latin, but also to write it if one wanted to maintain no matter how humble a position in the republic of learning or in the hierarchy of the Church.[1]

The Renaissance (fourteenth to sixteenth century A.D.) again brought about a change in this situation - a change that led to the re-establishment of Greek as one of the most important languages of the West. It (i.e. the Renaissance) was, in fact, an intellectual movement, the central theme of which was the revival of the interest in the classical learning. This movement began in the fourteenth century A.D, but the greatest impulse that it received was a direct outcome of the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 A.D. The latter event led to the dispersal of the Greek scholars westward, and this, in turn, resulted in a revival of interest in the learning of the classical Greek language and literature. Greek, thus, joined Latin to become one of the two most important languages of the western world during this period. It was, however, not

---

[1] O. Jespersen, Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin, (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1947), p.24.

the Latin and Greek that were spoken in the academic Europe at the time, but those of the classics which were written several centuries before, and which were no longer spoken. The study of these two languages thus became important not so much "as means of communication with the living,....but as means of communicating with the illustrious dead."[1]

The unfortunate consequences that this rather excessive prestige of classical Greek and Latin had for language teaching will be discussed in greater detail later. At this stage, it should be sufficient to point out that as a direct outcome of this concentration on the teaching/learning of what were in fact the 'dead' forms of Greek and Latin ('dead' because they were no longer spoken) led to a neglect of the teaching/learning of the 'living' forms of these languages (i.e. forms that were still spoken). A prolonged neglect of this sort could not but lead to the ultimate demise of these 'living' forms of Latin and Greek, so that the latter soon became as 'dead' as their classical counterparts.

---

[1] F.G. Healey, Foreign Language Teaching in the Universities (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p.25.

In view of the developments outlined above, the study of Greek and Latin became restricted to the study of the grammars of the classics. The latter soon degenerated into ends in themselves, and the teaching and application of the grammatical rules of Latin and Greek became formalized into a sort of intellectual exercise. Some attempts were made to check this trend: Martin Luther and his contemporaries, for example, actively advocated doing away with a system of teaching that taught more about the language than the language itself. Another important critic of this trend was Jan Comenius, who advocated the use of imitation and repetition for both reading and speaking in the language classroom. Grammar, in so far as it was needed, was to be acquired inductively. These attempts were, however, unsuccessful, and the tradition of teaching grammar for its own sake became deeply entrenched.

As the possibility of using Greek and Latin for the purposes of active communication became more and more remote (because only their 'dead' forms were taught/learned), the position of modern vernaculars became progressively stronger. By 1770, for example, they had replaced Latin as the media of instruction in European educational institutions. However, the teaching of these vernaculars as L-2's, which had begun earlier in the sixteenth century, was in a rather bad shape. There were two main reasons for this:

i) the teaching of these vernaculars had to follow

the same methods as were used for the teaching of Greek and Latin. This completely ignored the absolutely crutial difference that existed between these two sets of languages - the former were 'living' languages, while the latter were 'dead' ones;

ii) the grammars of these national languages were described with reference to that of Latin. This practice very often led to descriptions that gave a distorted picture of the vernacular involved.

This state of affairs was to continue until the last century, when, as will become clear later, the various pressures that had been building up over the years to liberalize education ultimately succeeded in asserting themselves. The study of the classics was relegated to a position of relative unimportance, and it was only then that it became possible to approach the teaching of the modern L-2's in a way that was different from the traditional one.

A significant feature of L-2 teaching until the last century was the very small number of people - mostly scholars and priests - who learned L-2's, because it was considered essential to do so for their respective pursuits. It is true that enterprising businessmen and travellers also learned L-2's, but they were the exception rather than the rule.

It was towards the end of the last century that, as a result of improvement in the means of travel to foreign countries, a big rise in the number of people learning, or wanting to learn, an L-2 with a variety of objectives, occurred. To the purpose of learning L-2's for mainly

scholarly and ecclesiastical pursuits, was added another, more dominant purpose of learning an L-2 for practical, oral use in actual situations. The position today is that, while L-2's are still being learned for scholarly and/or academic purposes, a very substantial number of people learn L-2's with a view to using them for oral communication. This change in emphasis on the purpose for which L-2's began to be learned set into motion changes in the methods of L-2 teaching, so much so that, in its most advanced, contemporary form, the L-2 teaching of today bears very little resemblance to the same occupation as it was carried out four or five decades ago.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan is too new a country to have any L-2 teaching traditions of its own. As in so many other fields, what actually happened was that it continued to follow, with slight modifications, the L-2 teaching traditions of British India. A reference has already been made (in Chapter III) to the teaching of English in the subcontinent, and, following the partition of it in 1947, in Pakistan. The other main L-2's that were taught in British India were Sanskrit - almost exclusively to Hindus - and Arabic and Persian - mainly, but not exclusively, to Muslims. (A number of other classical and modern L-2's were also taught at some of the educational institutions, but since such cases were few and far between, they have been left out of consideration.)

The teaching of Sanskrit was, understandably enough, completely discarded in Pakistan, but the teaching of Arabic and Persian was retained. In fact, the last two mentioned languages are the most important L-2's, after, of course, English, that are taught in Pakistan. The teaching of other L-2's - like German, French, Italian, Russian, etc. - was also begun in the early 1950's, but, as it will emerge from the discussion in the next chapter, their teaching has not altered the L-2 teaching situation in Pakistan to any appreciable extent.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

GENERAL REMARKS

The history of L-2 teaching methods (which, as it will be seen later, differs from each other because of three main reasons: one, they are based on different theories of language; two, they are based on different types of language description; three, they are based on different ideas on language learning) is rather obscure. One of the main reasons for this is a flaw in the books on language teaching themselves. What these books[1] usually do is to include a chapter or two dealing with

---

[1]For Example:

L. Bahlsen, The Teaching of Modern Languages, (trans.) M.B. Evans, (Boston, 1905).

H.E. Palmer, The Scientific Study of Teaching of Languages (New York: World Book Co., 1917).

H.B. Dunkel, Second Language Learning, (U.S.A.: Ginn & Co., 1948).

E.A. Nida, Learning a Foreign Language: A Handbook Prepared Especially for Missionaries (New York: Friendship Press, 1957)

N. Brooks, Language and Language-Learning (New York: Harcourt-Brace and Co., 1960).

F.L. Billow, The Technique of Language Teaching (London: Longmans, 1961).

M.R. Donoghue, (ed.), Foreign Languages and the Schools: A Book of Reading (Iowa, 1967).

W.A.J. Bennet, Aspects of Language and Language Teaching, (London: C.U.P., 1968).

what they claim to be the history of foreign language teaching methods, but what in actual fact these books do give is no more than a mere catalogue of unrelated - and apparently unsuccessful - teaching methods that have been in use throughout the centuries. Mackey, for instance, gives the following list of fifteen most common types of method:

1) The Direct Method
2) The Natural Method
3) The Psychological Method
4) The Phonetic Method
5) The Reading Method
6) The Grammar Method
7) The Translation Method
8) The Grammar-Translation Method
9) The Eclectic Method
10) The Unit Method
11) The Language-Control Method
12) The Mimicry-Memorization Method
13) The Practice-Theory Method
14) The Cognate Method
15) The Dual-Language Method

These types of method, says Mackey, "developed over the past few centuries" and "are still in use in one form or another in various parts of the world."[1] These 'histories'

---

[1] W.F. Mackey, Language Teaching Analysis, (London: Longmans, 1966), p.151.

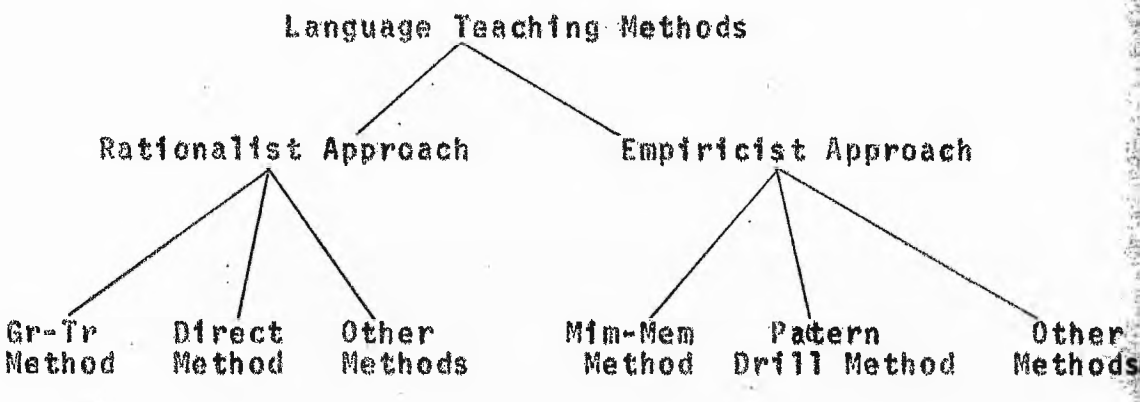
generally make no attempt to show any relationship between the various methods; all of them seem to have emerged full-blown from their respective creator's head, with no debt to the previous language teachers and the teaching methods followed by the teachers, and no effect on the later ones. In fact, these 'histories' seem to imply that there were no theoretical justifications for older methods, and that they were all created unthinkingly for ad hoc situations.

In other words, what these 'histories' fail to realize is that the history of foreign language teaching methods did not have a linear development. We do not just have a situation in which the faults of one method were corrected by a new one, each superseding the last method. Rather, we have two major traditions of language teaching, based on two different views of language and language-acquisition.[1] Language teaching methods are manifestations of linguistic presuppositions, and for the most part are variations on two themes - the 'rationalist' and the 'empiricist' theories of language learning. Two different types of theory of how languages are learned have then fostered two very different conceptions of how foreign languages ought to be taught.

---

[1] My use of the term is in the general sense of learning a language, any language, and not in the technical sense in which Chomsky uses it. For the latter, 'language-acquisition' designates the learning of the L-1, as opposed to that of non L-1, which is simply 'learning'.

We thus have one set of teaching methodologies - including the Grammar-Translation and the Direct Method - following the 'rationalist' tradition, and another set of teaching methodologies - including the Structural and Mim-Mem Method - following the 'empiricist' tradition. This division can be represented diagrammatically thus:



The philosophical basis of the 'rationalist' approach to language teaching is the 'rationalist' position that man is born with the ability to think and to learn a specialised cognitive code called human language. Man is equipped with a highly organized brain that permits certain kinds of mental activity which are impossible for other animals. Among other things, man is the only animal that can learn human languages - and virtually all human beings do learn at least one human language. The 'rationalist' notes that on an abstract level all languages work in the same way, and attributes these 'universals of language' to the specific structure of the human brain.

This thesis does not subscribe to the view of language and language learning outlined above, because an acceptance of such a view inevitably involves the acceptance of many vague, unobserved and unobservable, unexplained and inexplicable, and hence unscientific, assertions. The author regards language as a primarily social and functional instrument by means of which human beings communicate with each other. It is, therefore, in the opinion of the author, not particularly useful in this connection to talk about man's mind and what is in it - after all, the best that one can hope to do about these things is merely to guess at them. Moreover, this 'rationalist'-based approach to language teaching has helped to giving rise to the belief that the process - or the processes - which a child goes through in learning his L-1 is, in fact, architypical of all language learning. This, in turn, has led many theorists of foreign language teaching to rest their approach on the premise that the processes and conditions of learning an L-2 should reproduce as far as possible those of learning an L-1. Thus, for instance, Nida recommends that "... ultimately the best way to acquire a foreign language, for it is the natural way - the way children learn ... They just listen, repeat and put together words which they have heard".[1]

---

[1] E.A. Nida, op. cit., p.27.

He appears to mean the same thing when earlier he remarks: "The scientifically valid procedure in language learning ... "to justify the teaching order listening, speaking, reading and writing, since: "This is just the order in which a child learns his native language."[1] In the teaching of meaning also Nida makes a similar recommendation: the teacher should try "to figure out from the context" the meaning of words, phrases and sentences, because: "This is the way children learn."[2]

In advocating an early start on an L-2, Ulibarri maintains that: "Thus at six the child has just completed a successful experience in the learning of a language, his own. The well-trod and well-mapped avenues by which he arrived at this triumph are still open to him ... he can easily apply the procedures, known only to himself ... to a second language."[3]

---

[1] Ibid., p.19

[2] Ibid., p.35.

[3] S.R. Ulibarri, "Children and a Second Language", H.B. Allen, Teaching English as a Second Language (New York: McGraw-Hill Book & Co., 1965), p.314.

Pattison's remarks are in the same vein, when he says that it was "by engaging in meaninful activity with other people that we all learned our first language, and the same process must go on to enable any other language to be learned".[1] A very similar point is made by Halliday and others when they say that: "Children learn their primary language without systematic instruction in it. It is perfectly possible to acquire one or more secondary languages in the same way".[2]

This assumption about the necessary connection between the L-1 and the L-2 learning situations does not seem to be really valid due to the fundamentally different conditions that prevail in the two situations. This is specially so, if the pupils learning an L-2 begin their study of it when they are six years or more (as, for example, is the case with most, if not all, Pakistani students who study the English language), because it is now generally accepted that an average, normal child attains mastery over the structure of his

---

[1] B. Pattison, "Psychological Aspects in Language Learning", Modern Languages, XLV (1964), p.14.

[2] M.A.K. Halliday, et al., The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, (London: Longmans, 1964), pp. 180-181.

L-1 by the time he is about six years old. This means that, unlike a child acquiring his L-1, an L-2 learner does not possess a 'tabula rasa'.

The differences between learning an L-1 and learning an L-2 can be summed up as follows:

L-1 LEARNING SITUATION	L-2 LEARNING SITUATION
*L-1 is merely learned.	L-2 must usually be taught
*The learner is a few months, or, rarely, a few years old.	The learner may be of any age.
*The learner is still learning to use his general perceptual and motor mechanisms. He, in other words, 'knows' no language (i.e. human language).	The learner's speech and other motor mechanisms are more highly (or completely) developed. In other words, he 'knows' his L-1.
*A type of stimulus, is therefore associated with one type of response.	A type of stimulus is, therefore associated with two types of responses (i.e. both in the L-1 and the L-2). This results in 'interference' or 'negative transfer' - to be discussed later.
*Reinforcement is primary, e.g. food, toys, etc.	Reinforcement is secondary, e.g. nods, smiles, etc.
*The learner's higher thought processes and his personality are just beginning to develop.	The learner is already aware of himself as a personality, and is trying to express and to understand in the L-2

L-1 LEARNING SITUATION	L-2 LEARNING SITUATION
	much more complicated matters than those of an infant trying to learn his L-1.
*The learner lives in the linguistic community which speaks his target language. The learner thus has at his disposal almost all the working hours of whatever number of years he needs to master his L-1. The pupil can, therefore, practice his target language continuously; he can experiment with new sounds and novel structural patterns at leisure. He also constantly hears authentic models of the types of speech he needs to learn.	In most cases (as, for example, in the case of Pakistani students learning English) the learner does not live in the community whose language it is trying to learn. Normally, a pupil learns an L-2 largely at school, within the brief hours set aside in the school time-table for teaching it. The opportunities for use and practice of the L-2, both while it is being learned as well as after it has been learned, vary over a wide range - from constant, immediate use, on the one hand, to perfunctory classroom practice followed by years of neglect of such skill as has been gained in the given L-2.

L-1 LEARNING SITUATION	L-2 LEARNING SITUATION
*As there is no pressure of time, L-1 is usually learned through trial-and-error activity.	Because of the pressure of time, teachers can use only the most economical and effective instructional techniques. Effort, therefore, has to be made to reduce to the very minimum the occurrence of errors. That is to say, the pupils are supplied with the best possible model for imitation. The teacher (and, thereby, the syllabus-planner and the course-writer) controls the language to be used; this control is relaxed only when the absence of error shows that the pupils have achieved the desired standard of mastery in the material at hand. There is thus a gradual progression from the "manipulation of language" to the "communication through language".

L-1 LEARNING SITUATION	L-2 LEARNING SITUATION
*At the stage when formal instruction starts, the teacher is responsible only for a tiny portion of the pupil's language experience.	The teacher is responsible for almost the whole of the pupil's L-2 experience. In other words, in the L-2 classroom there is both much more to be taught, and much less time in which to teach it.
*No reading or writing is involved - not during the first few years, at any rate.	Reading and/or writing may be involved right from the very beginning.
*The learner is highly motivated, because a knowledge of L-1 will enable him to communicate with other people. He will thereby become a fully-fledged member of the society he belongs to.	There is a very great amount of diversity in the extent of the motivation which L-2 learners have; there is similarly a great variation in the purpose for which a given L-2 is being learned.

Thus while in the learning of an L-I the whole set of factors that are involved is more or less identical everywhere, the same is not true of L-2 learning situations. In the latter case, there is a very large number of factors, each factor, or the set of factors, making for a different learning situation, and requiring a different treatment. For example, the student's age, his intelligence, his general background of education and experience, his linguistic skills and habits in his L-I, his previous experience with the L-2 involved and any other L-2's, his purpose and motivation in learning the given L-2 and the type of command (whether reading, writing, speaking, aural comprehension - or some combination of two or more of these) he is seeking - all these and many more factors are involved in an L-2 learning situation. All these factors are highly variable and extremely complicated in their inter-relations.

In the light of such fundamental dissimilarities between the two situations, it does not seem reasonable "to derive methods of foreign language learning from the way the child learns his first language."[1]

---

[1] W.M. Rivers, The Psychologist and the Foreign Language Teacher (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1964), p.103.

Because of dissatisfaction with the 'rationalist' approach to language and language teaching (some of the reasons for which have been given in the foregoing section), the bias in this work is in favour of the 'empiricist' position, which insists on taking into consideration only those 'facts' which are empirically verifiable. This approach also involves a belief that every language is unique, and that each one must be studied in its own right. It further holds that language-acquisition (see footnote on page 149) is in fact a kind of habit-formation through conditioning and drill. The normal use of language is, thus, either 'mimicry' or 'analogy', or both; grammatical rules are merely descriptions of habits, and in normal, everyday speech a person has no time to consciously or rationally apply rules or recipes for 'sentence'-formation. The teaching methods advocated by the 'empiricists' have, therefore, been for the most part variations on the imitative method of mimicry and memorization - or 'mim-mem' method, as it is popularly known - with pattern drills. (However, having said this, it does not imply that 'habit-forming' itself may not involve the setting up - unconsciously as it may be - of patterns, structures, or models in the mind of the language learner by the latter himself. The way this takes place must - one may assume - be genetically determined, i.e. dependent on the structure of the human brain. Teaching the 'grammar' of a language may well be an aid towards successful language acquisition.)

METHODS USED IN PAKISTAN

Some reference in passing has already been made to the specific methods of L-2 teaching that have been used through the centuries. The following section of this thesis will discuss in detail only the following three of those methods:

(i) The Grammar-Translation Method

(ii) The Direct Method

(iii) The Structural Method

There are two main reasons for concentrating on the three methods mentioned above. The first reason is that, taken together, they are fairly representative of the main trends that are discernible in L-2 teaching methods in general through the ages. The second - and, perhaps, the more important - reason is that these are particularly relevant in the context of foreign language teaching in Pakistan. As it will be seen later, these three methods are the only ones that have been used in Paikstan to any extent for the purpose of teaching foreign languages.

The Grammar-Translation Method and the Direct Method have as their philosophical basis the 'rationalist' approach to language and language teaching, while the Structural Method has as its philosophical basis the position adopted by the 'empiricists'.

GRAMMAR-TRANSLATION METHOD

The most common and traditional method of teaching the English language in the subcontinent until 1947 was the Grammar-Translation Method. It was this Method that Pakistan inherited at the time of her birth and retained for a few years.

As the name of this Method implies, it is, in fact, a combination of two teaching methods - namely, the Grammar Method and the Translation Method. It might be recalled here that during the Renaissance the study of Greek and Latin languages had become confined to the study of their grammars for their own sake. The method that was used to teach these grammars came to be known as The Grammar Method. In this Method, the pupils learn the rules of grammar; they also learn groups of words. The latter are then put together according to the rule, thereby providing practice in the application of the rules that have been learned. However, knowledge of the rule is regarded as more important than its applications. There is hardly any oral work or teaching of pronunciation.

There was a reaction against this 'grammar-for-grammar's sake' approach at the beginning of the last century. A French educationist, J.J. Jacotot, for example, advocated a return to inductive grammar through the study of texts in the L-2. He also designed a course

for the study of French, called "Enseignement Universel, 1823". This course required the pupils to memorize six books of F. Fenelon's "Telemaque" by concentrating in turn on the separate words, sentences, and the grammar, and finally linking up their knowledge through a number of varied exercises.

The most notable figure of this anti-'grammar-for-grammar's sake' movement was, however, K. Plötz (1819-1881). The effects of Plötz' approach dominated the teaching of foreign languages in Europe not only during his life time, but have persisted even to this day.

Plötz' method had two parts:

(i) rules and paradigms;

(ii) sentences for translation into and from the L-2.

As both grammar and translation were involved in this method, it came to be known as the Grammar-Translation Method. This Method laid great emphasis on the acquisition of the rules of grammar by memorization and by reasoning. There was also a great emphasis in this Method on what it regarded as the important role that translation could play in making the teaching/learning of L-2's more effective by helping the pupils to assimilate the phraseology of the L-2 being learned. Accordingly, the first step in teaching an L-2 by this Method would be to help the pupils get at the 'meaning' of the words, phrases and sentences of the

L-2 by means of word-for-word translation into their L-1. They would then be required to translate the forms and structure of their L-1 into those of the L-2 involved.

However, as W.M. Rivers has pointed out, this practice of introducing translation in the early stages is not really very conducive to effective language teaching. The remarks of Wilga Rivers seem to sum up rather nicely the drawbacks and shortcomings of the role that translation is made to play in an L-2 teaching course based on the Grammar-Translation Method. I shall, therefore, quote her at some length. She says that in the translation exercise the student "is confronted with native-language forms and structure and require to produce the contrasting forms and structure of the foreign language. It is true that translation in which the exact meaning is transferred from one language to another demands, much more than does speech or original writing, a thorough knowledge of areas of contrast in form and function. It is for this very reason, however, that it is unsuitable as a technique for teaching the details of the language, while being a very profitable and challenging exercise of the student's control of the foreign language at an advanced level. Translation is feasible for the student only when he has a wide enough knowledge of the functioning system of both languages to find close-meaning equivalents for stretches of connected

discourse often longer than one sentence. At the lower levels of instruction students are forced to divide the text into small segments for which they think they can find equivalent segments in the foreign language. Because of the limitation of their knowledge this very segmentation may be an initial source of error as they fail to see the full extent of the contrast in structure."[1]

Moreover, this emphasis on translation very often leads to situations where more of the L-1 of the pupils than the L-2 they are learning is used in the language classroom. This is specially true of the teaching of, say, English in Pakistan, where an overwhelming majority of teachers is composed of untrained, undergraduate teachers. The knowledge that they possess of English can at best be regarded as rudimentary. As a consequence of this, when these teachers follow the Grammar-Translation Method in their English classrooms, they naturally tend to fall back on the use of the L-1 to teach English.

Another serious shortcoming of this Method is with regard to the pronunciation of the L-2: the latter is either not taught at all, or, if it is taught, it is limited to a few introductory notes. The chief reason for this more or less complete detachment of this Method from the

---

[1] W.M. Rivers, op. cit., p.157.

actual spoken language is that it lays an almost exclusive emphasis on reading, thereby making the general rules that govern the written language[1] its primary concern. This approach might be regarded as suitable for L-2 teaching if the aim of the learner were specifically to investigate only the material resources of the written language - as indeed was the case (and still is) with the study of Greek and Latin at the time when Plötz formulated his approach. It is, however, a frustrating Method for the teaching of 'living' languages like French, German, English, etc.

An L-2 teaching course based on this Method also usually lacks any proper 'gradation' or 'selection'[2] of the teaching material. This leads to courses which try to enable the students to read the classics in the L-2 by including archaic and literary words and other stylistic tricks in the main body of the course. This haphazard manner of selecting the teaching material inevitably makes the student's progress difficult.

---

[1] The problem of spoken language and written language has already been discussed (in Chapter I and II) in detail. It will, therefore, suffice here to note that the Grammar-Translation Method failed to make any distinction between the two, or, rather, it was implicitly assumed that there is an almost complete isomorphism between them. This itself is already debatable.

[2] These processes will be discussed later.

The teaching of grammar under this Method also needs to be mentioned. A reference has already been made to the fact that when modern vernaculars of Europe began to be taught as L-2's in the West, they were still under the shadow of Latin and, to a lesser extent, Greek. The immense prestige that these classical languages enjoyed had, in particular, two bad effects on the teaching of the vernaculars as L-2's. One bad effect was that it led some people to the genuine but erroneous conclusion "that since the classical tongues were taught exclusively through the printed page, living languages should be introduced the same way."[1] The second bad effect was that the supporters of the modern vernaculars had to cast the grammars of their languages in the mould of Latin, either because they believed that that was the right thing to do, or, as was more often the case, because they found it prudent to do so. This inevitably distorted the grammars of the vernacular languages. The latter, in turn, resulted in ineffective foreign language teaching.

(It might be pointed out that the objections that have been made against the Grammar-Translation Method in the preceding section are, of course, an extrinsic, not a

---

[1] E.A. Nida, op. cit., p.19.

necessary, feature of the Method. These objections would hold equally if a modern linguistic theory were the basis of the teaching of the grammar concerned.)

As the shortcomings, and the consequent limitations, of the Grammar-Translation Method became increasingly obvious, the need began to be felt for a more competent and effective method to improve the teaching of English in Pakistan. The task of selecting an appropriate alternative to replace Plötz' Method was a very difficult one indeed. The main reason for this difficulty was the great variety of new methods and techniques of teaching L-2's - some of which are enumerated on page *148* - that had sprung up since the last few decades of the nineteenth century. However, from amongst all these methods and techniques, two were ultimately chosen. These were the Direct Method and the Structural Method. The use of the former is confined almost exclusively to the private commercial institutions and foreign social and cultural agencies, such as the United States Information Centre (for the teaching of English), the French Institute (for the teaching of French), the Iranian Institute (for the teaching of Persian), etc. The use of the Structural Method is more widespread, because it is the Method by which English is taught in many of those educational institutions which are, directly or indirectly, under the control of the government.

THE DIRECT METHOD

The Direct Method developed during the second half of the last century, mainly as a reaction to Plötz' Grammar-Translation Method. An interesting aspect of this Method is that it has been invented over and over throughout the years, sometimes with different names. It has, for example, been variously called the 'Natural Method' (by Sauveur in 1875)[1], the 'Series Method' (by Gouin in 1880)[2], the 'Berlitz Method' (by Berlitz in 1887)[3], the 'Direct Method' (by Gourio in 1921)[4], the 'Cleveland Plan' and 'Multiple Approach Method' (by de Sauzé in 1929)[5], and the 'Verbal-Active Method' (by Lenard in 1965)[6].

---

[1] L. Sauveur, Introduction to the Teaching of Living Languages without Grammar or Dictionary (New York: F.W. Christern, 1875).

[2] F. Gouin, L'art d'enseigner et d'étudier les langues (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1880). This book was translated in English by H. Swan and V. Betis, and published by George Philip and Son, Ltd., as "The Art of Teaching and Studying Languages" from London in 1892.

[3] M.D. Berlitz, Method Berlitz (New York: Berlitz and Co. 1887)

[4] E. Gourio, The Direct Method of Teaching French (Boston: Houghton Miflin Co., 1921).

[5] E.B. de Sauzé, The Cleveland Plan for the Teaching of Modern Languages with Special Reference to French (Philadelphia: J.C. Winston Co., 1929).

[6] Y. Lenard, Parole et Pensee (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

An early pioneer of the Direct Method was C. Marcel, who, in 1867, strongly advocated the abolition of translation and grammar rules from foreign language teaching. Another important figure in this movement was that of F. Gouin, whose failure to learn German by traditional means even after repeated attempts[1] inspired him to formulate his own 'Series Method'. In this Method Gouin applied the principles of the association of ideas, visualization, learning through the senses, centres of interest, play and activity in familiar every day situations. Viëtor also helped in the ultimate evolution of the Direct Method by incorporating descriptive phonetics into an L-2 teaching method. The latter used spoken language as its starting point.

It was, in fact, the combining of Viëtor's Phonetic (or Reform) Method "with some of the principles of Gouin, (that) gave rise to the Direct Method movement."[2]

The main features of the Direct Method are as follows:

---

[1] Gouin tells the full story in his L'art d'enseigner ...

[2] W.F. Mackey, Language Teaching Analysis (London: Longmans, 1966), p.145.

(i) STEP BY STEP PROGRESSION:

In the teaching of L-2, this Method tries to imitate as far as possible the same process - or the processes - that a child goes through in learning his L-1. With this aim in view, this Method promulgates that the teaching should take place in step by step progression. A Direct Method course thus starts with naming, by pointing to things and giving them names. For example, the English course designed by Berlitz (1967) - a course that is regarded as one of the best and most sophisticated examples of the Direct Method and its rationale - begins with naming (fifteen nouns are introduced), and the questions and answers that go with it. Lesson Two reinforces the first one by giving a further list of nouns; it also introduces colloquial phrases of greeting, etc. Lesson Three introduces a new item: adjectives. And so it goes on until the end of the course.

(ii) INDIRECT TEACHING OF GRAMMAR:

The grammar of the L-2 is taught indirectly; that is to say, the students are not told the rules of grammar. They are required to figure out the rules themselves after seeing the examples in operation. As de Sauzé has remarked, "Instead of presenting the students with a rule on a platter, we set up a few carefully chosen illustrations of that rule and we lead them to discover through skilful guidance the

relationship of the new element to others previously mastered and to formulate his observations into a law governing those observations."[1]

(iii) SIMULTANEOUS TEACHING OF ALL THE SKILLS:

In this Method, the whole field of L-2 learning is split up into two pairs of skills. These are as follows:

(a) oral pair of skills;

(b) non-oral pair of skills.

Each one of these pairs comprises what can be called a 'receptive' skill and a 'productive' skill. Thus the oral pair is composed of (listening and) understanding, a 'receptive' skill, and of speaking, a 'productive' skill. Similarly, the non-oral pair is comprised of reading, a 'receptive' skill, and of writing, a 'productive' skill.

The 'productive' aspects of language are regarded by this Method as essential in mastering the 'receptive' aspects. However, this Method also acknowledges that there is such a large degree of interaction and interdependence between the various skills that a satisfactory learning of the L-2 can not be achieved by ignoring any one of them. This Method, therefore, insists on the simultaneous teaching of all the four skills - namely, listening and understanding,

---

[1] E.B. de Sauzé, op. cit., p.14.

speaking, reading and writing.[1,2]

(iv) EXCLUSIVE USE OF THE L-2:

In the Direct Method, the use of the learner's L-1, as well as that of 'translation' to teach the 'meaning' of words, is not permitted. This Method justifies the banishment of translation on the grounds that the Method's aim of teaching the use of the L-2 easily and 'naturally' by linking the words directly with objects, actions and situations could not be achieved otherwise.

(v) INTEREST:

There is a very great emphasis in this Method on the arousal and retention of pupil's interest. The latter is in fact of vital importance for the success of any teaching/learning method, but the point that the proponents of the Direct Method make is that it (i.e. the Method) should be inherently interesting, and not dependent on the teacher to make it so.

There is also a preference in this Method for

---

[1] These were first defined as the ultimate objective, in that order, of teaching/learning an L-2 at the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference on Language Teaching, held in Ceylon in 1964.

[2] For an illustration of this particular feature of the Direct Method, see E.V. Gatenby, A Direct Method English Course (London: Longmans, 1960).

maintaining a fast pace in the language classroom, and for 'intensive' teaching of the L-2. That is to say, if a group of pupils has a total of, say, one hundred teaching hours at its disposal for the learning of a given L-2, it can hope for the best possible results when these one hundred hours are spread over a few days or weeks rather than three or four months or even a full academic year. The latter, it might be pointed out, is generally the case in countries like Pakistan, where so many other subjects have also to be taught.

As indicated at the beginning of this section, the use of the Direct Method in Pakistan is confined almost exclusively to the language classes conducted by the commercial institutes and the foreign embassies or their cultural agencies. It is, therefore, rather difficult to judge the usefulness of this method in Pakistan on the basis of such limited information as is available. However, if one could generalize on the basis of this limited information, it would seem that the students taught a given L-2 by this method perform better than those students who are taught the same L-2 in the educational institutions which do not use this Method. One important factor for this comparatively better result in the case of students learning an L-2 by the Direct Method may, of course, be that of greater maturity and greater motivation of these students as compared to the pupils studying at the

conventional educational institutions. After all, a student in a school or a college has to learn all the subjects, including the L-2 (or L-2's), whether he wants to or not. There is, therefore, an element of compulsion which few students like. The case of those students who, for example, join a commercial institute or the United States Information Centre to learn English is an entirely different one. To begin with, there is hardly any element of compulsion: almost all the pupils join these institutes of their own accord, driven by a desire to achieve a degree of competence in English that would bring them nearer to their goal. In most cases, these students are grown-up, mature people, knowing perfectly well the reason(s) for having joined the English classes. Moreover, these students are able to concentrate on the learning of English, and do not have to bother with other subjects.

In other words, the learning situation at the two sets of institutions - namely, the commercial institutes, etc. and the conventional institutes of education like schools, colleges, etc. - is rather dissimilar, and the findings of one can not be applied to the other. It is, therefore, doubtful if, in spite of the encouraging results shown by the students at the commercial institutes etc., the Direct Method could be used in the educational institutions with the same effects.

There are a number of other reasons which make the use of the Direct Method in Pakistan unsuitable for the purpose of teaching the L-2's in general and English in particular. These reasons are theoretical as well as practical.

On theoretical grounds, the most serious shortcoming of this Method is that it regards the learning of an L-2 as involving roughly the same processes as the learning of the L-1. This is obviously a wrong assumption, because, as has already been pointed out (on pages 154 to 157), the learning of an L-1 and that of an L-2 are fundamentally different from each other. One consequence of the false assumption that the Direct Method makes about the similarity of L-1 and L-2 learning situations is that this Method ignores the psycholinguistic elements (e.g. the interference - positive or negative - of the learner's L-1, etc.) involved in learning an L-2, and it thus fails to provide, especially in the cases where the learners are adults, compensation for the pupils' disadvantages (e.g. the inability of the learners to imitate as well as a child does, lack of opportunity to continuously practice the target language, etc.).

On a more practical level, the Method is unsuitable for Pakistani educational institutions because it is not possible for the latter to fulfil one of the main

prerequisites for the success of teaching an L-2 by this Method. This is the requirement that an L-2 should be taught intensively, with plenty of opportunities for the actual use of the target language. This is not possible in Pakistan, where even at the college and university levels the English language rarely gets more than a total of one hundred and ten teaching hours (i.e. about twenty five minutes each working day) in any one academic year. Moreover, as the students have to learn many other subjects as well, the time and attention they can possibly spare for the learning of English is far less than what the Direct Method would regard as an absolute minimum for success in learning a foreign language.

Another reason for the unsuitability of this Method for Pakistan is, in my view, that it excludes almost completely the use of the L-1 in the language classroom. This means that from the very beginning of the course of instruction in English, only the latter could be used, without any opportunity of making use of the pupils' L-1 even for the purpose of explanation and clarification. While I personally do not regard it as an altogether bad idea to insist - not very rigidly, though[1] - on 'English alone' rule wherever and whenever possible, yet I do not think that this can be imposed in Pakistan. The reason

---

[1] On this point I agree with Halliday who says that "... given the right conditions one can make positive use of the student's mother tongue; and in such cases to neglect it may be to throw away one of the tools best adapted to the task in hand." A. McIntosh and M.A.K. Halliday, Patterns of Language; Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics (London: Longmans, 1966), p.28.

for this is that there is a very great shortage of competent teachers of English, and in most cases the knowledge of English that the teachers of this subject possess is so bad that they can not carry out their teaching exclusively in English.

Finally, very often it is the case nowadays that a successful employment of this Method depends to a great extent on the use of electronic equipments - language laboratories, etc. - which are far too expensive for a poor and under-developed country like Pakistan. For the present and the near future, therefore, it does not seem practical to introduce a teaching method which would result in incurring a huge amount of expenditure on buying the necessary 'hardware' for even a small proportion of the total number of educational institutions where English is taught as an L-2.

THE STRUCTURAL METHOD

This Method is the outcome of the extensive researches made in the field of teaching English as a foreign language in Britain and America during the past few decades. The introduction of this Method in Pakistan for the purpose of teaching English came in the wake of the Report of the Commission on National Education.[1] The Commission was appointed by the government in December 1958, because it felt that "the existing educational system of Pakistan is not adequate to meet the needs and requirements of the nation." The government, therefore, found it imperative to "set up a competent body to review, in consonance with the aspirations of the people and the socio-economic structure of the country, the educational system and to recommend appropriate measures for its reorientation and reorganization for the purpose of ensuring an integrated and balanced development of education in various stages."[2]

The Report was published towards the end of 1959. Among other topics, it also dealt at some length with the question of the respective positions to be occupied by the national languages and English in the country's educational

---

[1] Report of the Commission on National Education (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1959). (Hereafter referred to as Report).

[2] Ministry of Education, (Government of Pakistan), Resolution No. F.16-9/58-E.III., Karachi, the 30th December, 1958.

set up.[1] The Report gave an unqualified support to the idea that "English must yield to the national languages the paramount position that it has occupied in our educational system so far",[2] and that the "national languages should gradually and progressively replace English"[3] as media of education at all levels. This support for the national languages, however, did not imply that the Commission was "unmindful of the great importance of English in our national life."[4] As a matter of fact, the Report felt "convinced that English should have a permanent place"[5] in the country's educational system, because, "Through English our scientists and scholars can keep in touch with modern knowledge in science and technology, our industrialists can use the latest methods of production and distribution, our diplomats can make an effective contribution in international conferences, and our defence forces can utilize the latest equipment for defence."[6]

---

[1] Report, pp.281-289.

[2] Ibid., p.288.

[3] Ibid., p.282.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p.288.

[6] Ibid.

The Report also recommended the splitting up of English Studies into two subjects - namely, English language and English literature. The Report further recommended that the English language should no longer be taught for loosely defined cultural purposes (as was done, for example, during the British rule over the sub-continent), but in order to serve the country's immediate, practical need of becoming scientifically and technologically advanced. The role of English in helping Pakistan to achieve this aim was seen as two-fold: one, to enable Pakistani scholars to go abroad (mostly to English-speaking countries) for higher education and advanced research until such time as the indigenous institutions of higher learning and research could achieve the desired standard; two, to enable Pakistani scientists to have access to the vast quantity of written matter pertaining to the latest researches and findings in the respective fields of their interest, which can not be translated and published in Pakistani languages - both for economic and technical reasons.

A reference has earlier been made to that part of the Report which recommended the splitting up of English Studies into English language and English literature. This recommendation was made, because the Report realized that the type of teaching of the English language that had taken

place in Pakistan until then would not prove really useful for the fulfilment of the specific role that it (i.e. the Report) had envisaged for the English language in the national development. The Report felt that, in order to exploit to the maximum the benefits that could be had from a knowledge of English, the emphasis would have to be shifted from the teaching of the English literature to that of the English language. This shift in emphasis, the Report further realized, could not be achieved within the framework of the traditional method of teaching, as the latter was basically literature-orientated.

The Report, therefore, recommended that the "methods of teaching should be rationalized and brought up to date."[1] It did not mention any teaching method in particular, but it did suggest that, in order to decide on a new method, advantage should be taken of the valuable experiences gained by the British Council and other overseas institutes that were actively engaged in teaching English as an L-2.

It was a direct consequence of the foregoing recommendation and suggestion that ultimately led to the introduction of the Structural Method in Pakistan for the purpose of teaching English as an L-2.

---

[1] Ibid., p.289.

One of the important factors that contributed to the emergence of this Method was the rise of structural linguistics at the beginning of the present century. In this Method the greatest emphasis is laid on the 'mastery' of the structure and the L-2. (It might be pointed out here that the use of the term 'mastery' is not intended to imply, not necessarily at any rate, a native-like command over the L-2. It is used merely to indicate the level of proficiency in the L-2 that is aimed at. The latter may, of course, vary from the acquisition of the conscious knowledge of a restricted number of L-2 structures to that of a command over the L-2 that enables one to produce 'correct' utterances in it with a native-like ease and facility without being conscious of it.)

With the aim of achieving mastery in the L-2, the Structural Method prescribes that the grammatical and lexical material should be graded in order of increasing difficulty or complexity. That is to say, the teaching material must be prepared after applying the following procedure. First of all, the basic structure of the L-2 should be analyzed; secondly, the processes of 'limitation' and 'gradation' should be applied to the structure thus obtained.

'Limitation' and 'gradation' are two of the various important operations that under all methods - good, bad, or

indifferent - have to be performed. 'Limitation' is the process of making an inventory of the items that have to be taught. The operation of this process, which largely employs linguistic techniques, is of fundamental importance to language teaching, because it is neither possible nor even perhaps desirable to teach the whole of the L-2. It is now generally accepted that the chances of success or otherwise of a given L-2 teaching course depend to a very great extent on the 'appropriateness' of the course to the aims and purposes of the learner - the greater the degree of appropriateness, the greater chances there are of the success of the course. This concept of 'appropriateness' inevitably brings in the element of choice of the items to be taught.

In the process of 'limitation' are included the sub-processes of 'restriction' and 'selection'. The former refers to the process of delimiting the dialect and the register of the L-2 to be taught; the latter refers to the process of picking out, on the basis of "frequency of occurrence, disponsibilité and classroom needs"[1], those aspects of the particular register that are most relevant to the aims and purposes of the pupils.

---

[1] M.A.K. Halliday, et al., op. cit., p.207.

'Grading', which largely employs pedagogical techniques, is the process of putting the linguistic items already chosen (i.e. 'restricted' and 'selected') in the most appropriate order for teaching purposes. The operation of this process is necessary, because what has been chosen can not all be conveyed at once, so that something must come before or after something else. This process also has two sub-processes, namely, 'staging' and 'sequencing'. The former refers to the process of dividing the chosen inventory into 'units', so that the whole inventory can be evenly spread over the total duration of the course of instruction; the latter refers to the process of deciding the order in which the chosen items should be taught.

In addition to the processes of 'limitation' and 'grading', there is at least one other process, the performance of which is regarded by the Structural Method as being highly conducive to successful language teaching. This is the process of 'presentation', and it refers to the process of transmitting the 'limited' and 'graded' teaching material to the pupils. In order to teach an L-2 effectively, the teacher must 'know' the language. The mere ability to speak the pupil's target language, though essential, is not alone sufficient. He must be able to explain to the pupils how their target language operates, to state the rules that govern its grammar, to

classify its various forms, and to give some description of its sound system.

The Structural Method, following the 'empiricist' belief that in learning an L-2 what one really does is to form a set of habits through repetition and drill, recommends the inclusion of various language items in the body of the instructional material a number of times. This, the Method believes, enables the pupils to learn an L-2 more effectively than would be the case if the instructional material contained no provision for revision and repetition of items that have been already taught.

As regards the use of the L-1, the Method does not bar it completely. One reason for this attitude is that sometimes the best way to get across a certain teaching point is by explaining it in the learners' L-1. This is specially so in cases where the L-1 of the students (that is, a certain feature of this language) interferes with the learning of the L-2. If the difference between the two languages (i.e. the pupils' L-1 and the L-2 involved) on the specific point involved is explained through examples and illustrations taken from both the L-1 and the L-2, there is a greater chance that, by becoming conscious of the particular pitfall, the pupils will avoid making that mistake.

This Method does not allow the use of translation as a language teaching device, although it does allow translation from and into the L-2 as a skill that one can aim at

in its own right after one has been through the necessary stages of instruction. Similarly, with regard to literature, this Method does not object to the study of it as such, but only when it is made the vehicle through which to teach an L-2. This rejection of the traditional method of teaching a language through its literature is based on the belief that, by learning a language entirely through its literature, one learns that 'variety' of the L-2 which is found mostly in books, but is rarely, if ever, used for oral communication in actual living situations. Moreover, this Method does not envisage any difficulty in separating the study of language from that of its literature. After all, it is an undeniable fact that while a knowledge of a language is essential for reading and understanding literature written in that language, the reverse is not true. As a matter of fact, every normal human being knows a language, but, relatively speaking, only a very few people can read the literature of the language they know.

This Method has been in vogue in Pakistan for well over a decade now. It has certainly not succeeded in fulfilling all that had been hoped for from it, but it seems to have achieved a reasonable amount of success. The latter view is based on the findings of a restricted survey that was conducted in 1968 regarding the position of English in the educational set up of what was then the

unified province of West Pakistan. (It is a matter of some regret that, to the best of the author's knowledge, no formal and detailed study in Pakistan has so far been conducted with a view to comparing the results that have been obtained by the different methods that have been used in the country for the teaching of English.)

The survey mentioned above was in the form of a questionnaire-inquiry. The questionnaires, that were sent out to the universities and colleges throughout the province, also contained items which dealt with the causes of the decline in the standard of English. My assessment of the effectiveness of the Structural Method for teaching English is based on replies received to those particular questions.[1]

The findings of the survey have strengthened my belief in the soundness of the policy of using a method for teaching foreign languages in general, and English in particular, which derives its linguistic presuppositions from the empirical and structural approach to the study of language. The latter is associated mainly with modern linguistics. In the following section of my thesis, I shall, therefore, discuss, in general terms, the relevance that linguistics may have to language teaching.

---

[1] The Report of the questionnaire-inquiry was compiled by my colleague, Mr. R.H.S. Cook, at Karachi, and is now awaiting publication.

SECTION FOUR

CHAPTER SIX

LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

Background

We have already seen how the traditional method used for the teaching of Greek and Latin came to be used for the teaching of the modern L-2's as well, when the latter began to be regularly taught in the European educational institutions from the sixteenth century onwards. As both Greek and Latin were 'dead' languages, the most that one could hope to achieve (and, it might be added, one could conceivably be in need of) in learning/teaching these languages was the ability to understand, read and even write - but not speak - them. The use of the literature - orientated and writing-based courses of instruction for the teaching of Greek and Latin could, therefore, perhaps be justified on the grounds that such courses were conducive to the achievement of these aims (i.e. the ability to understand, read and write). But the transfer of the same method to the teaching of 'living' L-2's (that is, languages which fundamentally differed from the 'dead' languages) had disastrous effects.

In the beginning (i.e. until the end of the eighteenth century) the number of people learning modern L-2's was small, and so was the variety of purposes for doing so.

The ill-effects of the traditional method, therefore, did not become very obvious. The situation, however, underwent a change, and by the nineteenth century there was an enor-:mous upsurge in the number of people learning modern L-2's. The purpose of learning foreign languages also underwent changes. People still learned L-2's for scholastic and ecclesiastical purposes, but the main aim became the acquisition of the ability to use an L-2 for, mainly, oral communication in real situations. The trad-:itional method utterly failed to enable the pupils to speak an L-2. The reason for this failure was obvious: the traditional method was geared to the teaching of languages that either did not have any 'spoken'form (i.e.the language in question hdd no native speakers) or else, their spoken forms did not matter. In other words, the trad-:itional method did not - and could not - aim at imparting a knowledge of the spoken form of an L-2 to the pupils: all that they could hope to achieve was, as in the case of Greek and Latin, the acquisition of a knowledge of the non-oral skills of the L-2 involved.

(It might be pointed out here in connection with the use of the term 'pupils' that it refers only to those learners who are formally taught L-2's at educational institutions . Those cases where an L-2 is learned by staying in the country where that L-2 is spoken as an L-I or where children learn an L-2 by staying with governesses

who speak that L-2 as an L-I, have been left out of consideration. This has been done, because, firstly, learning an L-2 in these manners is exception rather than the rule; secondly, because these 'methods' - if they could be termed thus - really fall outside the scope of this work, which is concerned primarily with the teaching of L-2's in educational institutions.)

The failure of the traditional method to teach the spoken form of the target language resulted often in situations, where even a person with an academic degree in a given L-2 was neither "a very proficient speaker" of that language, nor was he very "adept at handling any but the more literary forms of the written language."[I]

This unsatisfactory state of affairs obviously could not be allowed to remain unchallenged and continue for long. A radical shift in foreign language teaching methods and techniques, therefore, became inevitable. Such a shift became perceptible in the later half of the last century, and it gradually became more marked and prominent as the century approached its end.

One of the important factors that, I believe, helped in bringing about this radical shift in foreign language teaching was the emergence into prominence of linguistics as a scientific discipline during the past fifty years or

---

[I]F.G. Healey, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

so. It would, however, be wrong to assume that the relationship between linguists and language teachers has been a happy one. In fact, the very reverse is true, especially in the early days of modern linguistics, when there was not much interaction between linguists and language teachers. Such interaction as there was took place in a rather haphazard fashion. One of the chief reasons for this was that early linguists like Franz Boas (1858-1942) and Edward Sapir (1884-1939) had little direct concern with language teaching. Boas was, for example, mainly interested in geography, with its anthropological implications. His interest in linguistics grew out of his conviction that it was essential to know the language and literature of the people whose culture was the subject of study. He was the first linguist to use native informants for describing languages. Similarly, Sapir was mainly interested in anthropology and linguistics. A great deal of work that he did in linguistics was concerned with the description of the American Indian Languages.

Because of their lack of concern with language teaching the early linguists did not attempt to explain how their findings could help in improving it.

The first modern linguist to have tried to relate the findings of his discipline to language teaching was Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1948). He was a language teacher (of German) himself, and had, at an early stage in his career, worked out the basic principles which he thought should guide modern foreign language teaching. Bloomfield had

formulated these principles, because he found the traditional method of teaching modern L-2's both cumber-:some and deficient in a number of ways. He was, for example, very critical of the fact that only a small number of class hours were allowed for the teaching of L-2's. This, Bloomfield believed, made it impossible for the teacher to do his job effectively. He also thought there was an undue reliance on written work, and on translation as a means of determining the students' understanding and competence in the L-2. The traditional practice of teaching the grammat-:ical rules and other 'facts' about the language rather than the language itself was regarded by Bloomfield as being hardly conducive to successful language teaching. The inability of a large number of L-2 teachers to speak the language they were teaching with any facility was another important aspect of traditional language teaching that Bloomfield was very critical of.

Bloomfield was convinced of the relevance of linguistics to language teaching, and believed that the former could make a significant contribution to the improve-:ment of the latter. His famous book, Language (New York, 1933), contained not only his theory of linguistics, but also, in a final chapter on "Applications and Outlook", a discussion in some detail of the ways in which the findings of linguistics could be applied to improve foreign language teaching. (Later, in 1942, Bloomfield published another book, "Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages", which was meant especially for the benefit of those people who had to learn an L-2 for which no formal

instructional material was available.)

It was, however, not until 1942 that any "considerable body of linguists assumed the role of active language teachers and attempted whole-heartedly to apply the findings of their science to practical problems of language teaching."[1] It is interesting to note how this change came about. When the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 led to America's direct involvement in World War II, she found herself incapable of supplying the language needs of her huge army, navy and air force, which was then taking up position in all parts of the world. To meet these language needs for her far-flung operations, two important steps were taken in America - steps which not only succeeded to a great extent in meeting the immediate language needs arising out of her involvement in the War, but also led, after the War, to changes in L-2 teaching methods in the U.S.A. and elsewhere.

One of the steps referred to above was taken by the American Army, which, with the help of the universities, set up its own school under the army Specialized Training Programme (or ASTP for short). The army was, naturally enough, more interested in quick results than in the methods or techniques employed to achieve them. These schools, therefore, had a strong incentive to try out new methods and

---

[1] W.G.Moulton, "Linguistics and Language Teaching in the United States:1940-1960," I.R.A.L.,I (1963), p.21.

techniques - which they did. The advice and guidance of linguists, psychologists, etc. was sought and obtained, and soon a pattern of language teaching emerged that was very unlike the conventional method of foreign language teaching. The courses were, for example, very intensive ones (in fact, some of the schools were full-time language institutes), and the amount of reading and writing was kept to the very minimum in order to enable the trainees to devote maximum time to the learning of the spoken form of their target language. As for grammar, only bare essentials were taught. The pupils were frequently made to imitate and drill the target language with a native speaker in small classes.

The other step was taken by the American Council of Learned Societies (or A.C.L.S.). In fact, this Society, having anticipated the coming need for speakers of a wide variety of exotic languages, had already, in 1941, established an Intensive Language Plan. The aim of this Plan was to mount "a massive attack on the teaching of a wide variety of familiar and unfamiliar languages."[I]

The task of producing descriptive analyses of a number of languages for which no adequate teaching material existed was entrusted to trained and qualified linguists.

[I] Ibid., p.23.

The involvement of the latter in this programme was so great that, by the end of the War, "just about every trained linguist in the country, young or old, had become involved in it one way or another."[1]

More recently, many attempts - for instance, by Charles Carpenter Fries and Robert Lado in the U.S.A., and Peter Strevens and M.A.K. Halliday in Britain[2] - have been made to further close the gap that separates linguists from language teachers, so that the former may become aware of the classroom problems and the latter may learn of the contribution to the techniques of language teaching made by linguists. These attempts have not been completely in

---

[1]Ibid.

[2]The following works may be cited as examples of the efforts that have been made by these linguists/language teachers: C.C.Fries, Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language, (Ann Arbor:The University of New York:Michigan Press 1945).

R. Lado, Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach (McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1964).

P.D. Strevens, Papers in Language and Language Teaching, (London:O.U.P., 1965).

M.A.K. Halliday, et al., The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, (London:Longmans, 1964).

vain: linguists and language teachers now work more closely together than used to be the case. But the 'gap' referred to earlier still exists. One gets the feeling that there are certain problems - problems not connected so much with the co-operation (or the lack of it) between linguists and language teachers as with the prevalent deficiencies in the state of L-2 teaching itself - that are responsible for the continued existence of the gap.

Three such problems suggest themselves, specially - though not only - in the context of backward and under-developed countries like Pakistan, which have only recently (i.e. since 1945) become independent. The first, and perhaps the most crucial, of these problems has to do with the lack of adequate instructional material.

Even in such an advanced country as the United States of America, for example, there is a growing dissatisfaction with the existing L-2 textbooks that are used in educational institutions. This dissatisfaction is partly due to the content of these textbooks, and partly due to their form. As regards their content, one can mention four shortcomings that are in particular detrimental to the teaching of L-2's:

(i) Most textbooks describe the language of great writers of past centuries and neglect the language as it is used today. An illustration of this point can be found, for example, in Grevisse's popular textbook[I] used in teaching

---

[I] M. Grevisse, Précis de grammaire française, Duculot.

French to foreigners. Grevisse exemplifies his rules with instances taken from La Fontaine, Corneille or Montesquieu, but he omits some constructions which are very common in contemporary French, such as the interro-:gative form expressed by intonation alone. This sort of practice in which greater emphasis is placed on the old literary style can hardly be expected to be of help to a student who is learning an L-2 so as to be able to use it for daily communication.

(ii) Even nowadays most of the textbooks describe the written form of the language only; the spoken form is either completely ignored, or the two forms are confused. For example, Richard and Hall in their textbook of English grammar[1], which is used in French-speaking Switzerland gives the following rule (on p.27): "La plupart des mots forment leur pluriel en ajoutant un s,qui se prononce. Exemple: a boy, two boys (boiz)". The example here is obviously wrong, because the s in boys is not pronounced (s).

(iii) There is very often a lack of proportion in these textbooks with regard to the amount of space devoted to various items. For example, Grevisse's textbook mentioned in (i), which contains about three hundred pages, devotes three to double-gender nouns (64-67), seven to the words tout, même and quelque (108-114) and twelve to the

---

[1] P.M. Richard and W. Hall, Anglais seconde langue, classe de 4ème (Paris:Hachette, 1960).

agreement of participles (208-219); it, however, does not deal with the construction of the noun phrase at all.

(iv) These textbooks provide no rules for the systematic construction of correct complex sentences. This leaves both the students and the teachers without the necessary guidance.

As regards the 'form' of these textbooks, the following deficiencies may be mentioned:

(i) Many of the definitions, rules and explanations which are contained in these textbooks are logico-semantic in character, insufficiently explicit, or even invalid. For instance, in a very recent French grammar the following definition is given: "Une phrase est l'expression, plus ou moins complexe, mais offrant un sens complet, d'une pensée, d'un sentiment, d'une volonté."[1] This definition is so inexplicit that it could refer equally well to a word or a book as to a sentence - that is to say, it is useless. In the same book, the notion 'object' is defined as: "On appelle objet du verbe le terme désignant l'être ou la chose sur lesquels s'exerce l'action."[2] However, this definition

---

[1] G. Mauger, Grammaire pratique du francais d'aujourd'hui (Paris: Hachette, 1968), p.I.

[2] Ibid, p.306.

is actually inadequate, because it would apply to the subject of the sentence Jean a reçu une gifle.

(ii) The examples in these textbooks are of very great importance, and if these are removed the definitions are liable to become more muddled or even incomprehensible. This amounts to saying that the grammatical information, is, as a rule, not given explicitly; the teacher and the student are expected to extricate it from the examples. This creates the problem of difference in interpretation by different people involved, and thereby results in a large number of mistakes.

(iii) These textbooks give grammatical information in a diffused and compartmentalised manner. The chief reason for this is that the arrangement of chapters in these books generally follows the division into parts of speech. Thus, for example, someone searching through Grevisse's book for information on the construction of interrogative sentences will have great difficulty in finding it, because it is scattered over pages 50, 106, 135, etc.. A further drawback of this arrangement from the teacher's point of view is that it obscures the systematic system of the language.

The situation concerning textbooks in developing countries like Pakistan is, if anything, worse. The English textbooks, for example, that are used in many of these countries are still in many cases the same (or similar to) those that were used by the former colonial

power in its own schools. The content approach of these books is, therefore, unsuitable in many respects for the local situations. Often prepared for native speakers of English, these books present a cultural setting far removed from that of the local scene; they also emphasize vocabulary elements that are not geared to the actual needs for the use of English in a living situation. Moreover, these textbooks also fail to take into account the difficulties created by the learners' L-I. An additional problem has been created by the recent trend in countries like Pakistan of discarding the use of English as a medium of instruction in their educational set up, and, instead, introducing it as a subject at some stage. This has necessitated a radical alteration in textbooks for teaching English, but no such large-scale alteration is in sight. This is due to a number[16] of reasons - political, economic, and, to some extent, sheer incompetence of the authorities concerned.

In addition to this lack of adequate instructional material that we have been discussing, there is another reason, which is responsible to some extent for preventing linguistics from contributing more to foreign language teaching. It is the lack of trained personnel. This shortcoming is again particularly acute in countries like Pakistan. The resources available for meeting the changed demands for the teaching of English in Pakistan are

extremely limited from the standpoint of trained personnel, institutional development, research and materials. Closely related with this reason is the third one: countries like Pakistan lack a system for the collection, evaluation and dissemination of the results of research carried out in the developed countries. Whatever information about recent developments in the field of linguistics and 'applied' linguistics (and, in fact, almost all other fields of study as well) does reach these countries is generally a case of too little, too late.

It has already been pointed out that the wide gap that separated linguistics from language teaching in the early days of the former has considerably narrowed down. There is now a growing consensus that linguistics is indeed relevant to language teaching, and the present work fully subscribes to this view.

However, before proceeding with a discussion of the ways in which linguistics is, or can be, relevant to language teaching, a mention must be made of Chomsky and other transformationalists. It is necessary to mention them because they represent perhaps the only group of modern linguists who maintain that its theory is not

relevant to language teaching in any obvious and definite way.[1] (In spite of such disclaimers, though, there are a number of people who firmly believe that transformationalist-generative grammar can indeed be applied easily and effectively to improve language teaching.)[2]

It is not difficult to see why the Transformationalists hold this view: it is, in my view, an inevitable outcome of their basic - and, I would maintain, false - assumptions about the nature of language. According to this assumption, language is a self-contained

---

[1] N. Chomsky, "Linguistic Theory", Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, (ed) R. G. Mead (U.S.A.: George Banta Co., Inc., 1966).

[2] For example: R. Lakoff, "Transformational Grammar and Language Teaching", Language Learning, XIX (1969), pp., 117-140; R. Filipovic, in his "Summary of the Proceedings of the International Conference on Modern Linguistics and Foreign Language Teaching, Budapest, April 1971", which was published in Contact, XVIII/XIX (1972), pp., 8-16, remarks that: "In spite of the scepticism of Noam Chomsky himself, the founder of T-G theory in linguistics, we can state today that with the advent of generative grammar a great change has taken place in practical drill work and that with the adoption of the new principles of the T-G theory, the process of language teaching has improved." (p.10).

system, independent of its use as a means of human communication.[1] This assumption leads the Transformationalists to a series of erroneous conclusions.

The Transformationalists are, for example, led to reject the psychological principles of 'association' and 'generalization' in favour of "innate ideas" (i.e. inherited knowledge of the structure of natural languages). Chomsky, in fact, dismisses as 'misguided' much of what the empiricists have to say about the basis of learning. He, for instance, not only finds it "impossible to accept the view that linguistic behaviour is slowly acquired by reinforcement, association and generalization ..."[2], but also difficult even to take seriously the "highly specific empiricist assumptions about how language is acquired."[3]

As an alternative to these principles, Chomsky has proposed the concept of "innate ideas".[4] According to this

---

[1] For example: see N. Chomsky, "Topics in the Theory of Grammar", Current Trends in Linguistics, III (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 1-60.

[2] N. Chomsky, "Linguistic Theory", Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, (ed.) R. G. Mead, (U.S.A.: George Banta and Co., Inc., 1966), p.43.

[3] N. Chomsky, Language and Mind (New York: Harcourt-Brace and World, 1968), p.53.

[4] It might be interesting to refer in this connection to an article by H. Aarsleff, entitled "The History of Linguistics and Professor Chomsky", in Language XXXXVI (1970), pp. 570-585. Aarsleff has tried to demonstrate that Chomsky's claim that this concept of 'innateness' is essentially Cartesian is not really true.

concept, a child is born with knowledge of a language, which is merely triggered off and set in action by external stimulation. Katz and Postal[1] and Katz[2] have carried further this line of reasoning, and they have attempted to prove that a child can not learn a language by associating 'words' and word sequences with elements of experience and generalization. The main argument given by Katz for this assertion is that the phonetic form of the utterance to which the child is exposed is not 'rich' enough to enable him to produce and understand sentences. Katz, therefore, concludes that children must be born with an intrinsic knowledge of the structure of language.

The invalidity of the foregoing conclusion is, however, obvious, because the assumption (i.e. that the phonetic form of utterance is the only information available to the child for generalization) on which this conclusion is based is itself false. If we take into account the use to which language is put, we find that a child is faced not merely with the phonetic forms of the utterances, but also with the contexts which are rich in situational information. He observes, for example, that the 'words' and 'sentences'

---

[1] J. Katz and P. Postal, An integrated Theory of Linguistic Description, (Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964).

[2] J. Katz, The Philosophy of Language, (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

relate to persons, events, objects and relations in a systematic and recurrent fashion. It is, therefore, incorrect to assume that a child learning a language acquires a self-sufficient calculus; as a matter of fact, what the child does acquire is a medium of communication which is related in 'knowable' ways to his environmental experience.

Another incorrect conclusion that the Transformationalists arrive at as a result of their basically false assumption about the nature of language is that 'deep structure' is not related in any 'knowable' way to the perceived world. This means that for the Transformationalists the principles of 'association' and 'generalization' can not help in discovering the 'deep structure'. Chomsky defines the latter as: "A system of propositions expressing the meaning of a sentence is produced in the mind as the sentence is realized as a physical signal, the two being related by ... grammatical transformations ... . We can distinguish the surface structure of the sentence, the organization into categories and phrases that is directly associated with the physical signal, from the underlying deep structure, also a system of categories and phrases with a more abstract character."[I]

[I] N. Chomsky, op. cit., p.25.

Chomsky's definition of 'deep structure' means that one sentence can be interpreted or understood only in terms of another sentence or other sentences. This will, however, ultimately lead to a stage where there will be left only such sentences that are either uninterpreted or are associated *via* transformational rules with sentences which are uninterpreted. Or, the approach is circular. In either case, the approach is unable to explain anything.

Yet another false conclusion drawn by the Transformationalists is that the 'theory of competence' (i.e. a transformational grammar based on an "ideal" speaker-hearer) is the best foundation of an understanding of the language performance of real people. This view is entirely in consonance with the premise that language is self-contained. If language were a purely formal calculus, then its chief characteristics would be discoverable only within the calculus itself. However, this is not so; language derives its value from its use alone. Therefore, the primary source of information for a theory of language must be its use in communicative contexts. In other words, a 'theory of competence' will have to be based on what is observed in language use, rather than stand as a self-contained system.

In view of the foregoing incorrect conclusions drawn from false premises by the Transformationalists, it was inevitable for the latter to be rather sceptical about

the possibility of their theory being applicable to language teaching in any meaningful way.

It must be made clear before beginning to discuss the relevance of linguistics to language teaching, that the former is neither about the latter nor does it constitute a teaching method. The concern of linguistics is mainly with making possible the description of speech on a scientific basis, so that its statements may or may not be relevant to language teaching. It is, in fact the task of the language pedagogist and others who are connected with the organization of language courses to decide what particular aspects of the growing body of knowledge in linguistics are relevant to language teaching, and then make use of them.

It follows from what has been said in the preceeding paragraph that the business of the linguist, per se, is the production of methods of analysis, and he, as a linguist, has no competence to pass judgement over the merits and demerits of a given description with regard to its relevance to language teaching.

However, it is also a fact that the greatest opportunities for the application of linguistics are found in 'linguistic description', the greatest opportunities for the application of which are, in its

turn, found in language teaching. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to think that linguistics can indeed have some relevance to language teaching. The role of linguistics in the field of the latter is, however, not to tell the teacher how to teach; it is, in fact, mainly in the background of the teacher - that is, in teacher training and in the preparation of the teaching material, etc., rather than in the classroom directly that linguistics can really contribute to language teaching.

In order to discuss the relevance that linguistics has to language teaching, I will mention in the following section the various assumptions, statements and findings of linguistics that have, in my view, a bearing - directly or indirectly - on language teaching, and try to show how these are reflected in the classroom.

SPEECH AND WRITING ARE DIFFERENT MEDIA THROUGH WHICH LANGUAGES CAN BE MANIFESTED (i.e. the learning of one does not automatically lead to the learning of the other), AND THE FORMER IS A COMMONER MEANS OF COMMUNICATION:

We have already discussed the problem of written and spoken language in the earlier parts of this work. The attitude that led to the elevation of written language flourished during a period when only a small minority of the population was educated, and, as the most important

manifestation of such an education was regarded at that time to be literacy (i.e. ability to read, understand and write), it was inevitable that written language should become the norm against which language of all types should be evaluated. In language teaching, this attitude manifested itself in the emphasis that teachers placed on conforming to the rules of the written language, and on eradicating the influence of speech on writing. The written language thus came to be regarded as 'the language', while the spoken form was judged as representing a 'corrupted' form of it.

The main reasons for the elevation of the wirtten language were restricted education and the identification of this education with literacy. This situation has, however, undergone a change, and now the position is that, at least in the developed countries of the West, education has become popular, and literacy is no longer regarded as the privilege of the few. This popularization of education and literacy, coupled with modern linguistic investigations, has led to a revaluation of the relationship between the written and the spoken forms of language. It is now generally recognized that the two are different media through which language is manifested. However, as a reaction to the earlier belief in the 'primacy' of the

written language, the recent trend has been to lay greater emphasis on the spoken mode of language.

The changed views and the resulting fresh assumptions about 'speech' and 'writing' have affected foreign language teaching in the following ways:

(i) An increasingly large number of L-2 courses are being devised now which attempt to teach the target language with reference to the rules of its spoken form rather than the written one. For example, French adjectives that mark agreement with masculine and feminine nouns are no longer taught in the aforementioned courses by stating rules such as the following:

(a) feminine adjectives are formed from the masculine by the addition of an -e, e.g. laid/laide.

(b) masculine adjectives which already end in -e do not change, e.g. rouge/rouge.

(c) there is a doubling of the final consonant before suffixation of the -e, e.g. bas/basse.

(d) in certain cases there are consonant changes before suffixation of the -e, e.g. frais/fraîche.

(e) there is an insertion in some cases of an additional vowel before the -e, e.g. long/longue.

(f) an accent is often placed on the vowel preceding the -e, e.g. léger/légère.

This is so because such rules relate mainly to written French, and are not applicable to spoken French. From the

point of view of the latter, a far more economical way of formulating a rule about this aspect of French grammar would be to take feminine as the base form, and derive the masculine from it. The rule could be stated thus:[1] the final consonant of the feminine form is dropped to obtain the masculine form, e.g. vert/ver.[2]

(ii) A large number of L-2 courses are now concentrating on the teaching of the contemporary spoken language. One could refer in this connection to the 'Scope' series, which has been constructed specifically for the purpose of teaching English to the immigrants in Britain.[3]

(iii) There is now a growing rejection of the older tradition that regarded the teaching of language and that of literature as necessarily concomitant activities, which could be effectively carried on by the same person concurrently. It is now generally

---

[1]This is, of course, an oversimplification, but the complexities are irrelevant to the general point that is being made here.

[2]This illustration is based on R. L. Politzer's Teaching of French: An Introduction to Applied Linguistics (2nd edition: New York:Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1965). Also see D. A. Wilkins, op. cit., pp.10-14.

[3]Scope: An Introductory Course for Immigrant Children (Various stages) (London: Books for Schools Ltd., 1969).

accepted that while a knowledge of language is essential for studying its literature, a knowledge of the latter is not a pre-requisite for learning a language. This has enabled the people concerned to see the role that literature can play in L-2 teaching and learning in a better perspective. It is, for instance, being increasingly realized that literature has a limited, though useful, role to play in L-2 teaching. This limitation is mainly due to the fact that literary texts are seldom, if ever, written with a total and rigorous control of vocabulary and sentence structure - which is so very essential for the success of texts written specifically for teaching an L-2.

The best way to use literature in language teaching is, therefore, to employ it as supplementary practice material. The sort of practice that it can provide will, however, differ substantially from the practice provided by other material. For example, unlike every other classroom practice which almost always requires the pupils to reproduce the L-2, in reading or hearing literature no such production is involved. Or, unlike classroom practice which attempts to give the pupils a complete mastery over a specific linguistic goal (e.g. the pronunciation of some specific L-2 sound or the production of some specific L-2 structure), the reading or hearing of literature would tend

to train pupils to deal simultaneously with all aspects of language, without necessarily having a complete control over any one of them.

It is now commonly accepted that literature can aid language teaching in at least two other important ways: firstly, by helping to build up the vocabulary, which, as used in literature, is many times larger than the vocabulary common in speech; secondly, by helping pupils to learn certain syntactic patterns, which occur more frequently in writing than in speech. For example, in the case of English, the use of subordinate clauses occurs more frequently in writing than in speech, and, certain stylistic word-order inversions occur almost exclusively in written and literary English.

LANGUAGE SYMBOLS ARE ARBITRARY:

That is to say, there is no necessary natural connection between the form symbols and that which they symbolize. This assumption about the nature of language has two important implications for language teaching. Firstly, in a general sense, it enables the course writers etc. to realize that no one language is intrinsically 'better' in the sense of being a more faithful representation of reality, than the other. The fact that one decides in

favour of teaching/learning L-2 'A' rather than L-2 'B' is determined by such extra-linguistic factors as the status of the particular L-2 in the country and in the world at large, availability or otherwise of suitably qualified teachers, etc.. Secondly, in a more particular sense (i.e. within the context of 'one language'), it is now generally accepted that each language contains a 'cluster of varieties', each distinguishable by features of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. The decision to teach variety 'A' of a given L-2 rather than variety 'B' is made not because the former is 'better' or 'more correct' than the latter in any intrinsic way, but because it is most appropriate to the needs of the students involved.

The point just made about the 'cluster of varieties' that each language contains can be illustrated from the titles of some of the books in the field of the teaching of English as a foreign language that have been published during the past decade or so. One could refer, for example, to the following: Fisher's 'Commercial English Comprehension Passages';[1] Pitman's 'Preparatory Technical English';[2] Mackin and Weinberger's 'El Ingles Para

---

[1] D. Fisher, Commercial English Comprehension Passages (London: Longmans, 1968).

[2] G. A. Pitman, Preparatory Technical English (London: Longmans, 1968).

Medicos y Estudiantes de Medicina ...';[1] Thornley's 'Scientific English Practice';[2] Gilman's 'The Language of Science:...';[3] Hogben's 'The Vocabulary of Science';[4] Herbert's "The Structure of Technical English';[5] Leech's 'English in Advertising:...'.[6]

Of all the varieties that are referred to in the preceeding section, the ones dealing with commerce and science are perhaps the best known, and I shall, therefore, deal with them in some detail.

The 'language of commerce' is characterized by the following distinguishing features:

(i) There is a marked tendency for the use of such standard lexical means as the ready-made and automatized commercial phrases. This is specially so when an oft-

---

[1] R. Mackin and A. Weinberger, El Ingles Para Medicos y Estudiantes de Medicina: Curso Rapido de Lectura (London: Longmans, 1960).

[2] G. C. Thornley, Scientific English Practice (London: Longmans, 1967).

[3] W. Gilman, The Language of Science: A Guide to Effective Writing (London: The English Universities Press Ltd., 1962).

[4] L. Hogben, The Vocabulary of Science (London: Heinemann, 1969).

[5] A. J. Herbert, The Structure of Technical English (London: Longmans, 1965).

[6] G. N. Leech, English in Advertising: A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain (London: Longmans, 1966).

repeating and stereotyped situation is involved. The best illustration of this is the different types of printed forms which are so widely used in banking, insurance, etc.. The opposite tendency of using a more personal form of approach is seen in those letters that, for example, make unsolicited offers.

(ii) The practice of making vague and unclear statements, especially when the desire is either to conceal the agent of a certain action (e.g. "the circle consulted are of the opinion that ...") or to avoid making a definite commitment (e.g. "the matter is under consideration ...").

(iii) There is a frequent use of abbreviations, elliptical expressions, etc., to achieve greater conciseness.

(iv) There is a rather unusually frequent use of terms like 'excellent', 'superior', 'exceptional', 'outstanding', etc., to achieve maximum effectiveness.

Some of the main distinguishing features of the 'language of science' are as follows:

(i) There is a tendency towards the use of shorter and simple sentences. The latter are, however, considerably expanded and otherwise amplified by the use of such devices as parentheses, additions, etc..

(ii) There is a greater use of the passive voice rather than the active one. The latter is used mainly when a particular historical experiment is being described, e.g. "Skinner sounded the bell at the same time as he presented the food to the rat".

The use of the passive voice is made when:

(a) describing the experiments that the writer himself has performed, and which may readily be repeated (i.e. the writer is making a report, e.g. "The bell was sounded at the same time as the food was presented".)

(b) instructions are being given, e.g. "The bell is sounded at the same time as the food is presented".

(c) the initiator of the action is unknown, or is unimportant, or is to be intentionally disguised, or if the attention is to be focussed on the action itself.

(iii) There is a tendency towards linguistic condensation, resulting in a predilection for connecting the parts of the sentence as closely as possible. This is achieved by contracted sentences, ellipsis, etc..

(iv) There is an exceptionally large use of technical words.

THE FUNDAMENTAL FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE IS COMMUNICATION:

This assumption about the function of language has at least two important implications for language teaching.

The first implication is that the selection of teaching material should depend on the kind of communication situation the learners are likely to be in. This has already led to some important works in the field of word-lists, etc., which are increasingly assisting the course writers etc. to select a useful vocabulary. A mention in this connection could be made of the various volumes of Le Français Fondamental,[1] which present word lists based on principles of frequency and availability. These books also list general constructions likely to be of greatest use at each stage. Another example of such a work is "Key Words of Literacy: a basic word list for developing early reading and writing skills".[2] This book lists three hundred basic words, and gives suggestions for classroom use. It also includes a survey of previous studies and existing reading schemes.

The second implication of the assumption that the basic function of language is communication is that the

---

[1] Le Francais Fondamental (I^er Degré), Institut National Pédagogique, Paris. (For more details, see Halliday, et.al, op. cit., pp.190-198).

[2] J. McNally and W. Murray, Key Words of Literacy: a basic word list for developing early reading and writing skills (London: Schoolmaster Publishing Co., 1962).

best way of instilling into the learners' mind the fundamental aspects of the nature of the L-2 is not by putting emphasis on the recitation of conjugation, declension, terminology, and vocabulary lists. The best way to achieve this is by making the pupils participate in conversation, dialogues, etc. in real or imagined situations and contexts. It is only through the latter that the pupils can hope to achieve what Jakobovits has called "communicative competence"[1] in the L-2.

LANGUAGE IS SYSTEMATIC:

As it is not possible to teach the 'whole' language at once, it becomes necessary to break it up into smaller units. Before the rise of linguistics these smaller units were treated as so many isolated 'parts' of the target language, unconnected with, and unrelated to, each other. However, now that linguistics insists on the systematic nature of language the situation has considerably changed. There is an increasing realization that language "is greater [sic] than the sum of its parts"[2], and that the latter, therefore, must not be taught in

---

[1] L. Jakobovits, Foreign Language Learning (U.S.A.: Newbury House Publishers, 1970).

[2] J. F. Wallwork, Language and Linguistics: An Introduction to the Study of Language (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1970), p.12.

isolation, but within the context of the system as a whole.

Moreover, the patterns into which language forms fall as a result of the systematic nature of language are limited in any one language. This makes it possible to give an accurate and concise account of the languages involved in a teaching situation[I].

LANGUAGE IS A FORM OF BEHAVIOUR:

The implication of this assumption for language teaching is that conditioning and practice are essential in order to form the patterns of language into habits. This is accepted even by Chomsky; that is to say, notwithstanding his comments mentioned elsewhere in this work, Chomsky does not preclude the use of conditioning and drill in learning some aspects of language. In his review of Skinner's "Verbal Behaviour", for example, Chomsky admits that"...it seems quite beyond question that children acquire a good deal of their verbal and non-verbal behaviour by casual observation and imitation of other adults and children." Chomsky goes on to add that,

---

[I] As Catford has pointed out, there are three different languages that are involved in a language teaching operation: the target language, the L-1 of the learners and the L-2 of the teacher. As would become clear from discussion later, similarities and differences between these languages can have a rather important bearing on the L-2 teaching situation.

"Reinforcement undoubtedly plays a significant role in (language learning)...[1]". Lakoff, another transformation-:alist, also recommends the use of teaching methdds based on conditioning for teaching some points of English grammar. "...pattern-practice drills are of value in these cases. There is nothing wrong with constructing drills to facili-:tate the memorization of facts about pluralization, complementizer-selection..."[2]

The realization of this implication by the syllabus-planners and the course-writers has led to the production of an ever increasing number of linguistics-orientated language courses which include a substantial amount of pattern drills.[3]

LANGUAGES ARE UNIQUE:

That is to say, each language must be studied as a system independent of, and different from, other language systems. This assumption has already led to a growing realization that the older practice of studying even modern vernaculars like French and German from the point of view of Latin was not correct. It is, for example, now realised that while an emphasis on the study of inflexions was acceptable in the case of a highly inflected language like Latin, the same can not be said in the case of a language

---

[1] N.Chomsky, Review of B.F.Skinner's "Verbal Behaviour" Language, XXXV(1959), pp.42-43.

[2] R.Lakoff, "Transformational Grammar and Language Teaching", Language Learning, XIX (1969), p.123.

3 But see next chapter, pp. 266-269.

like French or English which is not nearly so highly inflected. In the latter set of languages the order in which words are arranged and the way in which they are fitted together in groups and clauses are just as, if not more, important as the inflexion of words according to their function.

There is thus an increasing tendency to describe each language system in its own terms, i.e. as a system which is independent of, and different from, all other language systems.

LANGUAGES MUST BE STUDIED SYNCHRONICALLY:

The emphasis that the modern linguistics places on the synchronic study of language can have rather important implications for language teaching. The latter mostly aims at enabling the learners to acquire some sort of communicative competence in the L-2, and this can be best achieved if the course of instruction is based on a description of the contemporary state of the L-2. In other words, in L-2 teaching the main concern is generally with the L-2 as it actually is and as it actually 'works' rather than with the way it evolved. Diachronic linguis-;tics can, in fact, have very little, if any, relevance to language teaching.

This point can be illustrated by giving examples from contemporary spoken English. In normal, unstressed position in connected speech, the 'h' of 'him' is not pronounced, so that in its most common form, the word is

uttered as 'im'. It is essential that this point be stressed in teaching the pronunciation of 'h', otherwise the danger is that learners will tend to pronounce 'h', whether it is stressed or not, and thereby make their spoken English sound unnatural. Similarly, in the case of words like 'to', 'can', 'was', etc., the contemporary convention is that, unless they occur in stressed positions, they are always pronounced in their 'weak' forms. 'To' for example, is pronounced either as 'tə' (before consonants) or as 'tu' (before vowels), but rarely as 'tu:' (when it is stressed). Unless a course of instruction is based on a description of the contemporary state of English, these points will not necessarily emerge.

LANGUAGE MUST BE STUDIED SCIENTIFICALLY:

That is to say, the study of language must be empirical, exact and objective. As such an approach to the study of language is capable of helping in producing good and adequate descriptions of the languages involved in a teaching situation, there are chances that the latter would be greatly benefitted. The better, the fuller, the more accurate and the more scientific a description of a language there is available, the greater chance there is for the language teacher to teach that language well. These descriptions can take various forms depending on the age, academic and linguistic background, aims and purposes of the learners, and similar other related factors. In other words, as a result of a scientific approach to the

study of language adopted by linguists, language teachers are now in a much better position than ever before of being provided with teaching material that is more precisely designed for a specific learning situation[1], and, therefore, highly conducive to successful language teaching.

The scientific description of languages that is made possible by linguistics has a bearing on L-2 teaching in a number of other ways as well. The most important one of these is its bearing on the operation of the processes of 'limitation' and 'gradation'[2], which are performed under all teaching methods.

The relevance of scientific description of an L-2 to the process of 'limitation' (i.e . the process of making an inventory of the items to be taught) is that it enables the course writer to make a judicious inventory of the teaching items. Moreover, such a description helps in

---

[1]Many such works have, in fact, already been published Some examples:
W.S. Allen and R. Cooke, Living English for the Arab World (rev.ed.:London:Longmans,1967).

F.G. French, The New Oxford English Course (East Africa)- (London:O.U.P.,1956-1961).

O.U.P.'s "The Peak Series" 1961-1966. This series is designed for English-medium schools for Asian children in East Africa beginning English at the age of 5½ to 6½.

[2]These processes have already been discussed in some detail on pp. 182 - 184.

making the operation of this process more effective by insisting that "the whole process must be applied at all levels of language, so that unlike conventional vocabulary selection,... the inventory of teaching items is reached by considering phonology, grammar, lexis, context (semantics) and extra-linguistic situation at every point in the process."[1]

The bearing that a scientific description of an L-2 has on 'grading' (i.e. the process which puts the linguistic items already chosen in the most appropriate order for teaching purposes) is also rather significant. For example, such a description enables the course writer to have an overall picture of the structure of the L-2. In other words, in whatever order the various teaching items are placed by the course writer, he organizes them with the awareness of the place that each 'item' occupies in the total corpus of the teaching items.

Moreover, as a result of such a description of the L-2 the course writer also realizes that the 'units' into which teaching items are sub-divided belong to "different" levels of language and are being taught in relation to four different skills."[2]

Such an awareness on the part of the course writer

---

[1] M.A.K. Halliday, et.al.,op.cit.,p.207.

[2] Ibid.,p.208. (The four skills are:understanding,speaking, reading and writing).

has important implications for language teaching. For instance, if an L-2 course aims specifically at helping the pupils acquire one or two,but not all the four, skills, it will not necessarily deal with all levels of language. This is borne out by both the older L-2 courses that con-:centrated almost entirely on teaching 'reading' and 'writing', as well as the more recent ones that teach mainly the spoken form of the L-2, ignoring almost complet-:ely its written form.

CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS:

Linguistics can also contribute significantly to foreign language teaching by making possible the production of objective and accurate contrastive analyses of L-1 and L-2 involved. When used thus, linguistics is also referred to as 'contrastive'linguistics'.

Contrastive linguistics may be defined as the study of cross-linguistic contrasts and similarities with reference to some general theory of language structure. Its scope is defined by its potentiality to contribute to:

(a) theoretical linguistics; and

(b) 'applied' linguistics.

That is, as a branch of 'theoretical linguistics', it is supposed to concern itself with such areas of theor-:etical importance as, for example, language Typology and linguistic Universals, and as a principle of 'applied linguistics', it has a bearing on such topics as, for example, foreign language pedagogy and theory of machine

translation. The fact that contrastive linguistics can contribute to both 'theoretical' as well as 'applied' linguistics is evidenced from some recent thinking on the subject. In 1968, for example, the Georgetown Round Table Meeting discussed in some detail the pedagogical implications of contrastive linguistics[1], the Cambridge Conference, 1969, devoted one of its largest sessions to the contribution of contrastive linguistics to 'applied' linguistics [2]. More recently, in January 1971, the theme of the Pacific Conference at Honolulu was exclusively "Contrastive Linguistics and Language Universals".

There are various dimensions along which the principle of contrast can be applied. Halliday et.al., for example, recognized at least two such dimensions: the 'historical' and the 'descriptive'. The former, they suggest, is the method for comparing languages according to how they have evolved, and the latter according to how they work[3].

---

[1] J.E. Alatis,(ed),Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications, Georgetown University Monograph series on Languages and Linguistics 21, (Washington D.C.,G.U.P.,1968).

[2] G. Nickel, (ed.), Papers in Contrastive Linguistics, (London: C.U.P.,1971).

[3] M.A.K. Halliday, et.al., op.cit., p.112.

The theory and method of comparing languages along the'historical' dimension is known as 'comparative philology'. This branch of learning flourished during the last century, when it reached its zenith in Germany. It deals with such topics as'phylogenetic relationships' and 'language change', and it does so by attempting to provide an account of the evolution of the putative parent languages, like Indo-European, Semetic, Sino-Tibetan families, etc.

The method and theory of comparing the working of different languages is called 'contrastive linguistics.' It is this principle of contrast applied along the 'descriptive' dimension that is relevant for language teaching purposes. That is to say, what is needed is, as Halliday et.al. proposed, a "method for comparing languages according to how they work, not according to how they have evolved."[I]

The aims and methods of contrastive linguistics differ considerably from those of comparative philology. The latter, as suggested above, sets out to explain the evident fact that languages change, and that different languages are related to one another in different degrees. The material a comparative philologist draws on for comparison consists in the main of individual sounds and words. On the contrary, a constrastive linguist, while

---

[I] Ibid.,p.112.

comparing languages with the specific aim of improving the methods and results of foreign language teaching, takes a wider area of language structure than that of the traditional comparative philology.

An important aspect - and the one on which there is still no general agreement amongst linguists and the language teachers - of contrastive linguistics is the status of the languages being compared. It has been suggested, by Halliday et.al.[1] and Catford[2], for example, that the status of the languages involved in comparison may vary according to the aims of the comparison itself. Thus, for instance, if the aim of the comparison is 'translation', then one language is conventionally assigned the status of 'source' language', and the other that of 'target language'. However, if the comparison is being made with language teaching in view, then one language is always the mother tongue and the other the L-2 of the learners.

In either case, however, the implidd assumption is the basic tenet of 'transfer comparison',[3] which indicates the 'direction' of comparison. That is, the assumption is that one must start in comparing from the description of

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] J.C. Catford, A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics (London:O.U.P., 1965).

[3] For a discussion of 'transfer comparison', see Halliday et.al., op.cit., pp.120-123.

one language, and then describe the second language in terms of the categories set up for the first. What it means is that the comparison should either be L-I - based or L-2 - based. If former, the comparison would assume the following 'direction':

L-I ----------> L-2

and if latter, the comparison could be represented as shown below:

L-2 ----------> L-I

Another view in this connection is the one expressed by Mel'chuk, who defines two possible types of analysis of L-I. In the case of 'independent analysis', the L-I is analyzed, and a set of rules 'transfers' this analysis into the synthesis characteristics of the target language. The interposed set of rules is the basis of comparison for the two languages. On the other hand, 'dependant analysis' uses no such interposed set of rules, and, instead, the analysis of L-I is conducted in terms of the characteristics of the L-2 - the former thus being dependant on the latter[I].

There is, however, some dissatisfaction with the 'directional' approach as outlined above, because it seems to be theoretically inadquate to adapt the description of one to fit that of the other. Perhaps an alternative way would be to have a 'neutral' or 'non-directional'

[I] I.A.Mel'chuk,"Machine Translation and Linguistics,"Exact Methods in Linguistic Research,O.S.Akhmanova,I.A.Mel'chuk, R.M.Frumkina and E.V.Paducheva,(trans.)D.G.Hays and D.V.Mohr, (Berkley:University of California Press,1963),pp.66-67.

approach to comparison. Comparison, it might be pointed out, presupposes the logical necessity of postulating 'common categories', because, logically speaking, it is impossible to compare any two entities without using a common frame of reference.

There must be a number of factors that contribute to success or failure in language teaching, but in our present state of knowledge it is not possible even to indicate, much less verify, each of these factors. However, there is a large degree of agreement amongst those who are involved in language teaching, that one of these factors is the conflict between the linguistic structures and other peculiarities of the L-I and the L-2 involved. That is to say, the similarities and contrasts between the learners' L-I and the language they are learning determine the areas of lesser or greater difficulty.

Actually, the idea of contrasting languages for pedagogical purposes is not new. For example, L-2 grammars written within the framework of the traditional grammatical theory have always used contrast as the basis of description. But the weakness of contrast used in these pedagogical grammars was that the traditional description of the L-2 concerned was based on the matrix set up to account for Latin in the first place. Apart from this general defect, the traditional grammar on which these contrasts were based is not sufficiently explicit to permit exact analysis. Moreover, it was only usually lexical items that were compared, and systematic contrastive analyses were not made use of in traditional language instruction.

In fact, the 'systematization' of contrastive analysis is fairly recent. It is generally agreed, for example, that the publication of Lado's Linguistics Across Cultures in 1957[1] marks its real beginning as a systematic branch of linguistics, although almost a decade earlier Fries had already put forward his thesis that the area of difficulty for learners of an L-2 could be pinpointed by a contrastive study of the L-1 and the L-2 involved. Fries claimed that the "most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner."[2]

This theme of usefulness of contrastive analysis in foreign language teaching has been taken up, and carried forward by many other linguists and/or language teachers. Examples: Professor Ferguson believes that "a careful contrastive analysis of the languages offers an excellent basis for the preparation of instructional material..."[3];

---

[1] R. Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures: Applied Linguistics for Language Teachers (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1957).

[2] C.C. Fries, Teaching and Learning of English as a Foreign Language (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1945).

[3] Quoted by E.P. Hamp in "What a Contrastive Linguistics Is Not, If It Is," Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications, (ed.), J.E. Alatis, (G.U.P., 1968), p. 139.

Marilyn Conwell says that "...linguistics in general, and contrastive studies in particular, have given considerable information and impetus to improvement in the teaching process."[1]; Carroll finds that "...there is inferential support for the notion that information from contrastive linguistics can be of use in predicting student difficulties"[2]; even Mackey, who is rather sceptical of the contribution that linguistics in general can make to language teaching[3], concedes that contrastive description of L-1 and L-2 for pedagogical purposes is important: "Differential description is of particular interest to language teaching because many of the difficulties in learning a second language are due to the fact that it differs from the first."[4]

It must be pointed out at this stage that at least one teaching method, the Direct Method, explicitly rejects the notion of the usefulness of contrastive analysis in foreign language teaching. The supporters of this Method claim

---

[1] M.J.Conwell,"Comment 3,"Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications,(ed.),J.E.Alatis(G.U.P.1968)p.217.

[2] J.B. Carroll,"Contrastive Analysis and Interference Theory," Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications, (ed.) J.E. Alatis,(G.U.P. 1968),p.121.

[3] For example, see W.F. Mackey,"Applied Linguistics:Its meaning and Use,"English Language Teaching,II(1966),pp.197-206.

[4] W.F. Mackey,Language Teaching Analysis,(London:Longmans, 1966)p.80.

that it aims at teaching an L-2 'naturally' (i.e. the way one learns one's L-1), and since such an analysis does not play any part in one's learning of L-1, it should not be used in teaching an L-2. Recently, some more criticism has been voiced against the claims for contrastive analysis.[1] The main point that most of these criticisms make is that the L-1 is not the only source of error in L-2 learning. However, I agree with C. James, who has pointed out[2] that this criticism is not really valid, because no such claim about the capability of contrastive analysis to predict all errors in L-2 learning are made.

Learning an L-2 is the acquisition of a new skill[3] and as in all learning of a new skill some 'transfer' from the skills already possessed by the learners occurs, foreign language learning is no exception. One of the main sources of this 'transfer' in the case of L-2 learning is the L-1 of the learners. The 'transfer' is either 'positive' or

---

[1] For example:
D.A. Wilkins, Review of "Trends in Language Teaching",(ed.) A.Waldman,I.R.A.L.,VI (1968) p.99-107.
W.R.Lee,"Thoughts on Contrastive Linguistics in the Context of Language Teaching,"Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications, (ed)J.E.Alatis(G.U.P.,1968)pp.185-194.

[2] C.James,"The Exculpation of Contrastive Linguistics", Papers in Contrastive Linguistics,(ed.) G.Nickel, (London: C.U.P.,1971),pp.53-67.

[3] My use of this term here is not in its technical sense (i.e. as referring to the four skills, namely, understanding speaking, reading and writing), but in its ordinary sense, meaning 'an action carried out with facility as a result of practice.'.

'negative'. As an example of the former, one can mention the transfer of general habits of "linguistic behaviour". There is a general consensus that positive transfer does play a part in L-2 learning (i.e. it facilitates the learn-:ing of L-2), but as it is difficult to discover the precise nature of this type of transfer, or the role that it plays in language learning, linguists have tended to concentrate on the study of 'negative transfer' or 'interference'[I], which is much more amenable to fruitful investigation.

'Interference' occurs because, as a result of ident-:ification, etc., a learner produces a form in his target. language, which its native speakers would not use. Instances of transfer may occur at any level - phonological, syntactic, etc. - where the structures of L-I and L-2 involved are different. For example, on the level of phonology, learners of English whose L-I is Punjabi tend to pronounce English sound /s/ as /sə/, because the latter is more akin to the Punjabi sound. Thus /sku:l/ becomes /səku:l/, /steiʃn/ becomes /səteiʃən/ etc. As an illustration of interference on the level of syntax, one can mention the

---

[I] 'Interference' can also result from sources other than the learner's L-I. It can result, for example, from what has already been taught - or mistaught - of the L-2. However, for the sake of simplicity and convenience, I shall deal with 'interference' only in so far as it results from the prior possession of L-I by the learner.

case of those learners of English whose mother tongue is Urdu. In the grammatical system of the latter, there is no equivalent of the definite article as found in the grammatical system of English. As a consequence of this difference, the Urdu-speaking learners of English tend to misuse the definite article (i.e. 'the') in their target language.

Contrastive analysis can be performed in either of the following ways : in a priori way (the analysis will then predict potential errors that could be made by the learners) or in a posteriori way (when the analysis will deal with actual errors made by the learners). In the a priori approach, a systematic comparison is made of L-I and L-2 involved. Such a comparison would show the difference in the structure of the L-I and L-2 and thereby point out the most likely sources of interference. In this way, it would become possible to predict "Probabilis-:tically many of the distortions that a speaker of the L-I is most likely to introduce into the L-2 as he learns it."[I] Contrastive analysis in this sense can, therefore, be defined as "systematic comparison of selected linguistic features of two or more languages, the intent of which is... to provide teachers and textbook writers with a body of

---

[I] R. Lado,"Contrastive Linguistics in a Mentalistic Theory of Language Learning,"Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications,(ed.),J.E.Alatis(G.U.P.,1968),p.124.

information which can be of service in the preparation of instructional materials, the planning of courses and the development of classroom techniques."[1]

As stated in the last quotation above, the findings of contrastive analysis can be of particularly considerable value both for the textbook writer and the teacher. It can assist the former in deciding about the "grouping and sequencing of items and the kinds of drills and exercises in which they should be presented and practised", while the latter can be helped by enabling him to "understand certain problems as they arise in class and sometimes to supplement the text book by devising on the spot corrective treatment."[2]

The basic principles of performing contrastive analysis are the following. The comparison should be done only after each of the languages involved has been scientifically described individually by the same method. Moreover, as each language is unique, made up of a'system of systems' it is not possible to compare two 'whole'languages, and make general statements about them on the basis of such a comparison. It is, therefore, necessary that only specific patterns and specific levels - e.g. verbal group, etc., - should be compared independently and in their own right.

---

[1] J.H. Hammer,and F.A.Rice "Introduction", A Bibliography of Contrastive Linguistics, (Washington:C.A.L.,1965).

[2] J.C.Catford,"Contrastive Analysis and Language Teaching," Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications, (ed.) J.E.Alatis,(G.U.P.,1968), p.162.

However, a contrastive analysis of the L-I and L-2 should cover all levels - phonology, grammar, etc. - and the relations between them, otherwise its usefulness will be greatly reduced.

In short, it can be said that contrastive analysis is designed to "predict, explain, correct, combat and eliminate errors due to interference between source and target languages."[I]

The a posteriori approach to contrastive analysis is also referred to as "error analysis". Although language teachers have been dealing with learners' errors ever since foreign language teaching began, 'error analysis' as a formal subbranch of contrastive linguistics has had only a short history. Impetus was given when Corder in an article that he wrote in 1967 gave academic recognition to,and initiated interest in, the study of errors as an important phenomenon which would yield linguistic and psychological insights into how people acquired L-2's. Corder postulates a "transitional competence" possessed by the learner, which is somewhere between his L-I competence and the native's competence of the L-2. He further postulates that errors occur as learning strategies, as tests through which the learner tries to discover the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of various aspects of his particular grammar (of the L-2).

[I]G. Nickel, "Contrastive Linguistics and Some Pedagogical Implications," Contact, XV (July, 1971), p.21.

There is thus a definite, though erroneous, system in the learner's use of the L-2. This "transitional competence" is discoverable by error analysis[I].

[I] S.Pit.Corder "The Significance of Learner's Errors," I.R.A.L.,V. (1967) pp.161-170.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Perhaps the most important point that emerges from the discussions of the last chapter is that linguistics (i.e. 'structural' linguistics) can be relevant to foregin language teaching. If this conclusion is valid, as I believe it is, then it is not unreasonable to assume that Functional Linguistics - which is firmly rooted in, and has developed as an off-shoot of, structural linguistics - can also have relevance to foreign language teaching. I shall, therefore, now discuss the possible relevance that Functional Linguistics may have to foreign language teaching, and I shall do so with reference to both foreign language teaching in general, and the teaching of English in Pakistan in particular.

However, before embarking upon the aforementioned task, I would like to make the following observations:

a. In discussing the relevance of linguistics - Functional or otherwise - to language teaching, it is nowhere the intention to imply that linguistics is about language teaching, i.e. linguistics has the same, or even similar, aims and objects as language teaching. The only point being made is that since both linguistics and language teaching have the same subject-matter (i.e. 'language'), it should be possible at times to discover that the findings of one could be relevant to the other.

As it happens, there is no evidence so far that language teaching can in any way help the linguist in his task, but, as has already been discussed in the last chapter, there are reasons to believe that the findings of linguistics can sometimes be relevant to language teaching.

b. In any discussion pertaining to language teaching, one is inevitably faced with the following three questions:

(i) What to teach?

(ii) Why to teach?

(iii) How to teach?

The 'what' of language teaching deals with the subject-matter - or, to put it differently, with the content - of language teaching; the 'why' aspect deals with the aims and objects of language teaching, while the 'how' aspect deals with the methods that are used for language teaching. These three aspects are, to some extent, interdependent, so that a change in, say, the 'why' aspect of language teaching might trigger of some changes in the 'what' and 'how' aspects as well. Any substantive discussion of all these aspects would bring in many related disciplines, that help to elucidate the various points with regard to this or that aspect. For example, one of the disciplines that will have to be brought in while discussing the 'how' aspect is psychology, especially those parts of it that deal with language acquisition, learning theory etc.

However, I hope I shall be forgiven for not discussing these aspects in any detail, because only a preliminary discussion is aimed at.

Although there is some discussion with regard to the possible relevance that Functional Linguistics may have to the 'how' aspect of language teaching towards the end of this chapter, the discussion that follows concerns mainly an exploration of the possibilities of relevance that Functionalism may have to the 'what' aspect. This is so because the main contribution that linguistics seems to offer vis-a-vis language teaching is in this particular field.

c. The role that is envisaged of linguistics with regard to language teaching is, mainly, behind the class-room and the class-teacher. It seems that it is the syllabus-designer and the course-writer whose work can be benefitted most by the findings of linguistics, and it is these people who can incorporate, wherever necessary, those findings of linguistics that they think are relevant in the course of instruction that they design, and then pass on the 'finished material' to the teacher.

d. Finally, I must emphasise once again the fact that this is the first work of its kind that has tried to discover the possible relevance that Functional Linguistics may have to foreign language teaching. Much of the discussion that follows is, therefore, of a rather tentative nature; that is to say, instead of making

definitive statements and demonstrating them, what this chapter really does is to throw up ideas and suggestions regarding the various ways in which Functional Linguistics seems to be relevant to foreign language teaching.

It has been pointed out elsewhere that one of the most important influences on the Functionalist School was that of the Prague School. It would, therefore, be interesting to see what that School had to say with regard to the role that its findings could play in language teaching.

Fried has remarked that the Prague School was always "interested in the practical application of their linguistic theory, especially in the sphere of language teaching."[1] This interest in finding practical application for their theory can be traced back to Vilem Mathesius, who was one of the pioneering members of the Prague group.

Mathesius has already, by the 'twenties, worked out a method of contrastive analysis, which made possible a comparison between two languages as well as between two different stages of the same language. The common denominator of such a comparison was held by Mathesius to be the desire for expressing 'communicative needs and wants'

---

[1] V. Fried (ed.), The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching, (London: O.U.P., 1972), p.2.

that were more or less the same in all language communities. (This method obviously lacks the sophistication that is found in the more recent ones. However, at this particular point, where all that I am trying to do is to show that the Prague scholars were interested in language teaching, this is really irrelevant. In fact, it is due to this reason that I have not commented on the merits or demerits of this method.)

The modern functionalists, and especially 'axiomatic functionalists', however, have not shown - not yet at any rate - any such interest in attempting to draw conclusions from their theory which would have implications for, or relevance to, language teaching. This might be due to a general lack of interest in language teaching on the part of the functionalists, or to their belief that language teaching falls outside their competence as linguists. Anyway, whatever the reasons for this rather total lack of interest amongst the 'axiomatic functionalists' to discuss the possible significance of their work for language teaching, if one were to look at Functionalism from the point of view of one who were interested in language teaching, one would then perhaps be able to find such implications in the tenets of Functionalism and the description of, say, Pekingese phonology or the distribution of English vowels that were based on them,

that would point out the possibility of Functionalism having at least some relevance to language teaching. It is true that a linguist does not necessarily describe a language (or some 'aspect' of it) from the viewpoint of language teaching, but as the latter is ultimately based on some sort of description of the target language, it seems reasonable to assume that a given description will at least have the potential of some possible relevance to language teaching . It is from this point of view that I shall be discussing the relevance of Functional Linguistics to language teaching.

One can discuss the possible relevance that Functional linguistics may have to foreign language teaching either in general terms, or with reference to those particular aspects of Functionalism that are felt to be particularly relevant to language teaching. However, as the former has already been discussed in the previous chapter[1], I shall confine myself in what follows to a discussion of the latter.

---

[1]The point being made here is this: Functionalism, it has already been mentioned, has its roots in structural linguistics, and, as such, the discussion in the previous chapter regarding the relevance of linguistics to language teaching will seem to be applicable, in general terms, to Functional Linguistics as well.

THE 'FUNCTIONAL' PRINCIPLE[1]

The functionalists regard the 'functional' principle of prime importance, because for them the raison d'être of language is communication, and, as such, they hold that only those aspects of language are worthy of a linguist's attention that contribute to this communicative function of language. A description of a given language based on functionalist principles will, therefore, deal with only those aspects of that language which are essential for the use of it as a medium of communication.

The aims and objects of language teaching may differ in many respects, but there is at least one aim that is common to all language teaching, and this is the aim of enabling the learners to acquire the required degree of communicative competence[2] in the target language, so that

---

[1] See pages 33, 55.

[2] I think it will be useful if I made clear my use of the terms 'communication' and 'communicative competence', which differs somewhat from the common use of these terms, especially in the context of language teaching/learning. For me 'communication' means "imparting or exchange of information"; it does not matter whether the hearer/reader knows the speaker/writer, or whether he (i.e. hearer/reader) is even supposed to hear/read the spoken/written thing. What does matter is whether a hearer/reader has heard/read - and understood - some spoken/written thing: if he has, then an instance of 'communication' has taken place. And following from this interpretation of 'communication', 'communicative competence' means, for me at any rate, the competence - not in the technical sense as used by Chomsky, but in the non-technical sense (i.e. 'having the ability') - to participate in communication.

the latter could be used for communication - passive or active, direct or indirect, etc., but communication nonetheless. It is true that this 'required degree of communicatice competence' might range from a very limited knowledge of only one language skill (for example, Pakistanis working in the meteorological office who need to acquire a very limited knowledge of the spoken form of English, so that they can exchange information with other meteorological offices) to a high degree of command over all the four language skills (for example, Pakistanis who wish to teach English at the college/university level), but this does not alter the basic fact that in all teaching of, say, English in Pakistan it is the communicative competence that is aimed at.

We thus see that both for Functionalism and language teaching, the communicative aspect of language is of vital importance - for the former because it helps it to define the scope of its competence as a discipline, for the latter because it provides it with an objective to aim at. This in itself, it is true, would not necessarily mean that Functionalism can be relevant to language teaching, but as we have also seen already that perhaps the most important contribution that linguistics can make to language teaching is by making possible the description of languages on scientific basis, it seems reasonable to assume that a linguistic theory which stresses the 'functional' principle - i.e. the very principle by which communication can take

place at all - more than does any other theory shall have some relevance to language teaching.

'LANGUAGE/SPEECH' DICHOTOMY[1]

A reference has elsewhere been made to Mulder's rejection of the Saussurian tenet which holds that the 'language/speech' dichotomy is a real one, and that linguists should study 'language' rather than 'speech'. According to Mulder, the object of a linguistic description is speech, and in doing so the linguist produces (i.e. establishes) language as a part of the description. The native speaker may do a similar thing -perhaps quite unconsciously - and in that respect he may be said to possess 'language', as a kind of model in his mind. This, however, according to Mulder, is not accessible to a pure linguist, and can, therefore, not be the object of his study. De Saussure, believing - as it seems - in a sort of collective mind, placed 'language' on the inter-individual (i.e. social) plane, but it is doubtful whether any real existence can be assigned to 'language' in this sense. Hence Mulder's insistence that the object of linguistic description should be speech.

When we look at Mulder's stand *vis-a-vis* 'language/speech' dichotomy with a view of discovering if it can

---

[1] For a detailed discussion, see pp.79-80.

have any relevance to language teaching, we find that, in insisting on the study of 'speech' rather than 'language' (in the Saussurian sense), he is, in fact, creating the possibilities of providing such descriptions of the target language that would highlight an aspect of language that is of very great importance to language teaching as well. This aspect is, of course, the communicative one. In view of this, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that a functionalist-based course of instruction will prove more effective in language teaching than would a non-functionalist-based one.

If we look at the situation with regard to the teaching of English in Pakistan, we see that it presents a rather dismal picture. It is, for example, not very uncommon to find that, even after having anything up to eight years of English at various levels - i.e. primary, secondary and undergraduate - a vast majority of Pakistani students still find themselves incapable of using English with any amount of facility. One reason for this ineffective English-teaching is, in my opinion, the courses of instruction that are based on non-functionalist descriptions of English. As the latter do not always take into account the actual use of language, the teaching based on such non-functionalist descriptions of English do not prove very helpful in enabling the pupils to learn English as a language that is used for communication.

I believe that the situation outlined above could be remedied if successful efforts were made to design courses that were based on functionalist descriptions of English. That is to say, if the teaching of English in Pakistan could be based on courses of instruction that were, in turn, based on a description of English according to some such principles as those laid down by Mulder, then there are chances that it (i.e. the teaching of English) would substantially improve.

REVALUATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN FORMS

It is rather a common sight these days to see linguists asserting the 'primacy' of the spoken form of language over the written one. These linguists regard the latter as nothing more than a mere graphic representation of the former. This attitude, it might be recalled, arose in the first place as an over-reaction to the earlier tradition of giving the written form of language greater importance than the spoken one. Such an extreme attitude might, therefore, have been justified in the beginning, when modern linguists were trying to combat the entrenched older traditions, but now that linguistics itself is on a firmer ground, there can be no justification for holding such an extreme opinion.

Mulder's attitude in this regard seems to me to be based on far greater realism. He holds that, from a synchronic and functional point of view, the spoken and the written forms of a 'language' are two autonomous and independent systems. These systems stand in a diachronic relation to each other, but synchronically they are independent. Any similarities between the two are accidental from the synchronic point of view, just as, say, similarities between different dialects, or different (but diachronically related) languages are.

That such an autonomy and independence does exist between the two forms can be shown to be a valid assertion by the fact that it is possible to learn either, irrespective of the other. We, for example, find a vast majority of people in Pakistan, who can speak their L-1's with perfect ease and facility, but can not even write the alphabets of their L-1's. In the context of an L-2, instances could be given of those people from the areas of Pakistan that border on Afghanistan, who are completely uneducated and illiterate. A large number of these people come to work in Karachi. Their L-1 is either Pushto or Hindko (a hybrid of Pushto and Punjabi), but over a period of years they succeed in acquiring a working knowledge of spoken Urdu, without necessarily acquiring a corresponding facility (or, for that matter, any facility at all) in the written form of Urdu.

The converse of the situation mentioned above is equally possible. However, as no suitable illustration of this could be given from Pakistan, I shall try to illustrate this point by giving the example of the study of classical Greek and Latin in the West. These, being 'dead' languages, do not have 'spoken forms' - as the phrase is used and understood in the context of 'living languages', which exist either both as writing and speech or only as speech - and, therefore, only their 'written forms' can be learnt.

Mulder's belief in the autonomy and independence of the written and the spoken forms of a language can have substantial effect on language teaching, because one has no longer to make bland assertions about the 'primacy' of one form or the other in order to justify one's teaching of a particular form. That is to say, in view of the position adopted by Mulder vis-a-vis the written and the spoken modes of language, it is now possible to discard both the older tradition of regarding the acquisition of the written form of the L-2 as the only worthwhile objective that can be aimed at in language teaching and the not-so-old tradition which regards the spoken form of the target language as the only mode worthy of being taught and learned. The acquisition of either the written mode or the spoken mode (or, of course, both modes) can now be regarded as being equally valid, but essentially separate, goals.

All that has been said in the preceding section about Mulder's views on the problem of written and spoken forms of language can also have relevance to the specific situation with regard to the teaching of English in Pakistan. The Structural Method that is now gaining ground there can be made more effective by incorporating these views. I shall presently explain how.

Neither the Report[1], which ultimately led to the introduction of the Structural Method nor the Method itself, as it came to be adapted in Pakistan, take any clear-cut position with regard to this particular problem. The Report did mention a need for teaching English as a 'living' language, and as a subject distinct from English literature, but nothing more specific was said beyond these generalisations. This has led, perhaps unintentionally but inevitably, to a growing feeling amongst those who are involved in syllabus and course designing, and in teaching itself, that the written form of English should always have a secondary position vis-a-vis the spoken form. In this view of theirs, these people are supported by much of what they read of modern linguistics and the teaching methods that are influenced by it. However, as has already been said, this view is no less lop-sided than the one that it replaced, namely the view that believed in the supremacy of the written mode of language over that of its spoken mode.

---

[1]Report of the Commission of National Education , (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1959).

The Mulderian view in this respect, if accepted in Pakistan, could go a long way in correcting the existing imbalance of view referred to above. It would also provide Pakistanis with a framework within which to make decisions about the mode of English to be taught. Such a decision would be founded strictly on the future needs and requirements of the learners, and not on the position taken by this or that group of linguists or linguistics-orientated language teachers with regard to the written and the spoken modes of English.

Thus, for example, if a group of students, who hope to become airline cock-pit crew after completing their studies, learn English to enable them to communicate orally with foreign control-towers, etc., then the main requirements of this group could be fulfilled if it were taught mainly spoken English. To unduly burden such a group with lessons aimed at teaching written English would be tantamount to deliberately, and needlessly, making its task more difficult.

However, if there is another group of learners, who hope to take up clerical jobs after completing their studies, they would not have any particular need even for a working knowledge of spoken English. All that they need - in government offices and other similar organizations - could be sufficiently met if they acquired a knowledge of written English good enough to draw up drafts, answer queries, etc.

There is, however, yet another group - a group, in fact, with which I am mainly concerned - composed primarily of university students, who hope to go on to work for post-graduate qualifications. A majority of these students, it is true, will never get involved in advanced research or higher education abroad, but a certain proportion of them will. In an ideal situation, this group should have two sets of English courses: one for those who will not get involved in higher education and advanced research, and will, consequently, have a relatively more remote chance of going abroad, and the other for those students who would proceed with advanced research, and, consequently, will have greater chance of going abroad. The course for the first group of students would attempt to teach mainly written English, so that the pupils are enabled to read text books, research papers, etc., that they need for their particular level of 'high' education (i.e. M.A./M.Sc. in most cases), and which are not available in Urdu. The course for the second group, on the other hand, would have to try to help the learners acquire a degree of competence over both the written and the spoken modes of English, so that in case some members of this group manage to go abroad for higher studies, they do not face serious problems of communication.

However, after having said all this, I must point out that very few countries indeed - and Pakistan is not one of them - have such an ideal situation as to cater for the needs of individual groups. For economic and other practical reasons, the most that can be hoped for in Pakistan is to have an English course, especially at the university level, that would give (or, hope to give) the students a degree of competence in both written and spoken English. And this task should become easier now that the learning of both the written and the spoken mode of a language can be regarded as equally worthwhile, but separate, tasks.

SEPARATION OF LEVELS OF ANALYSIS[1]

Mulder, it might be recalled, insists on a rather rigid separation of levels of analysis (for example, between the levels of grammar and phonology, etc.). Some doubts have recently been expressed[2] about the wisdom of such an attitude, because, it is argued, it sometimes leads to an analysis that is fragmented. These doubts are,

---

[1] Also see Chapter II, especially page numbers 83 and 105.

[2] e.g. see C.N. Bailey, Review of Mulder's SRP, Language, XXXXVI (September, 1970), pp.671-687.

however, not valid as far as Mulder is concerned, because, although he does insist on a separation of levels in linguistic analysis, he recognizes that the 'facts' themselves do not imply any such separation. This is shown by the way in which Mulder has developed his sign-concept; in the latter, it might be pointed out, all these 'separate levels' are inter-related to each other.

The relevance of this type of approach, it seems to me, is that it can make foreign language teaching more effective, because it can provide the course-planner and the syllabus-designer with such descriptions of the target language that would include the treatment of different levels separately, thereby enabling him to begin with, and concentrate on, the level (or the levels) most suitable for the acquisition of the particular skill or skills that are aimed at. For example, if the aim of a group of learners is to acquire a knowledge of, say, written Arabic, then it would not be very useful if its course of instruction was based on a description of spoken Arabic, or even worse, on one that emphasised mainly the phonological level.

In the context of the teaching of English in Pakistan too Mulder's approach could prove useful. At the moment, most of the descriptions of English that are available in that country are based on 'theories', which either make

no distinction between the different levels, or, if they do make this distinction, they do so without being particularly rigid about it. This has led to the construction of courses in which it is not always easy to make out the particular level that is being dealt with. As a result, a teacher, finds it difficult to isolate the particular level which is either most relevant to the purpose for which English is being learned, or which the particular class he is teaching needs more than others. The teacher is thus forced to teach many aspects of English that might not be relevant either to the purpose of the learners, or to their actual needs. This is, in fact, in my opinion, one of the reasons as to why the teaching of English in Pakistan leaves so much to be desired. This serious drawback can, however, be removed, if the courses of instruction are based on a description of English that incorporated the separation of levels in its analysis as proposed by Mulder.

Actually the adoption of Mulderian approach as suggested above can, it seems, be helpful in more than one way. Firstly, it can enable the syllabus-designer and the course-writer to construct courses of instruction that will be more in keeping with the requirements and needs of the pupils for whom these courses are meant. That is to say, with a functionalist-based description

of, say, English at his disposal, the syllabus-designer will be in a better position to pick and choose the 'ingredients' that are most appropriate for the group or groups of pupils concerned, and 'mix' them, if and when necessary, in the right proportion.

Secondly, it can also help the language teacher in making his teaching more effective by making it more appropriate to the actual needs of the pupils. I shall explain this below.

It has been repeatedly stressed in this thesis that the role that is envisaged of linguistics vis-a-vis language teaching is mainly behind the classroom and the class-teacher. There are, however, occasions, where it appears that an exception to this general rule might be in order (i.e.linguistics can sometimes be seen as having a rather more direct role to play vis-a-vis language teaching). It seems to me that a course of instruction that is based on a description of the target language that deals with the various levels of analysis separately (as, for example, would a description that were based on the principles of Functionalism) is a case in point. I shall try to explain this point by referring to the teaching of English in Karachi at undergraduate level.

There is one course of instruction that is followed for all B.A. students. As the number of students in the various departments of the Arts Faculty, who have to do

English, is rather big, the total number of students have to be split into a number of smaller groups so as to make teaching manageable. For this purpose a system of tests has been devised; at the beginning of each academic year all new entrants to B.A. are given a test, and, on the basis of the results obtained, the groupings are formed so that there may not be a very great amount of disparity between the students in a given group. This is, perhaps, not an ideal system for grouping the students, but it seems to be less arbitrary than the one that it replaced, and in which students were assigned to various 'sections' on the basis of their names in alphabetical order.

It has already been said that all these students follow the same course of instruction. Now, if the latter is based on a description of English in which the various levels of analysis have been kept separate, then the teacher will be in a better position to pick out, and lay greater emphasis on, those levels which his particular class needs more than others. It is in this sense that I think the language teacher can be said to benefit more directly from linguistics than is usually the case. For example, a class which is composed mainly of students who have had their pre-university education in English-medium institutions, will not need as much attention with the spoken form of English as with its

written form, because it is generally found that the relatively good knowledge that these students possess of spoken English is rarely matched by an equally good knowledge of written English. As it is not possible, in Pakistan at any rate, to devise a separate course of instruction keeping in view the particular needs of this and similar other small groups, the best alternative seems to be to provide the teacher with a course of instruction, which is based on a linguistic theory (e.g. the Functionalist theory) that keeps the levels of analysis separate. This would enable the teacher to isolate the various levels, and use the most appropriate ones.

NOTIONS OF 'PHONEME' AND 'POSITION.

In discussing Mulder's concept of 'phoneme', we noted that by introducing the concept of 'position' in its definition, he added a valuable descriptive potential to his theory. Mulder's own illustration of what Hervey regards as "an elegant, economical, and highly original"[1] descriptive solution to the French words houille and oui was also noted. However, of far

[1] S.G.J. Hervey, "Mulder's 'Axiomatic Linguistics': A reply to C. Bailey's Review in Language, Vol. 46, No. 3, Lingua, XXVIII (1972), p.353.

greater interest from the point of view of the teaching of English in Pakistan is the observation that followed, and which was to the effect that if applied consistently, it can often lead to a substantial reduction in the size of the phoneme inventories arrived at by other descriptive methods. The example quoted in this connection was that of Mulder and Hurren's article about the English vvowels.[1] In this article, the authors show that the total size of English phoneme inventory can be substantially reduced if the analysis is based on Functional principles. This, I think, offers a possibility of immense proportions to Pakistani syllabus-designers and course-writers, who have so far had to put up with phoneme inventories of English of far greater sizes. By making available to them the phoneme inventories that have been arrived at on the basis of whether or not the items in it are functional (i.e. necessary for the use of English as a medium of communication), they are provided with a chance of constructing courses of instruction that would deal with only those phonemes that really matter as far as the use of English as a medium of communication is concerned.

---

[1] J.W.F. Mulder and H.A. Hurren, "The English Vowel phonemes from a functional point of view and a statement of their distribution", La Linguistique, 1968, pp.43-60.

Actually, it seems to me that Mulder's method of arriving at phoneme inventories can be useful not only in constructing courses of instruction that are of a general nature, and aim at helping the pupils achieve the required degree of competence in the spoken and/or written English (e.g. English that is taught at B.A./B.Sc. level), but also in constructing courses that aim at giving a very limited and specialized knowledge of, say, spoken English that is used by people who man the international section of telephone exchanges. It should be possible, for example, to make a phoneme inventory of the 'English used by international telephonists', and then use it in constructing a course of instruction.

THE SIGN CONCEPT[1]

We began our discussion of Mulder's theory of the linguistic sign by referring to the fact that he considers it to be of the greatest importance, because it determines the 'form and content' of the whole of linguistics (i.e. 'grammar', 'phonology', 'semantics', etc.). We also noted that for Mulder, as for de Saussure, the 'formal aspect' (i.e. 'expression') and the 'meaning bearing aspect' (i.e. 'content') were inseparably united - that is to say, one implied the other, and vice versa.

Such a view of the linguistic sign seems to offer the possibilities of finally overcoming one of the serious shortcomings that has always plagued language teaching. One of the drawbacks of the traditional system of teaching languages was that it was based on linguistic descriptions that took account mainly of the 'meaning' aspect. As a reaction to this approach, linguists like Bloomfield went to the other extreme, and advocated an approach that, when applied, led to linguistic descriptions that concentrated almost entirely on the 'formal' aspect.

---

[1] See Chapter II, pp. 98-105.

This led to a situation where language teaching and learning became more a matter of automatic drilling and practising of the 'forms' of the target language than the learning of a new'linguistic behaviour' for the purpose of communication.

Mulder's approach represents a departure from both the extremes mentioned above. As he regards the formal aspect and the meaning bearing aspect as really not being more than 'aspects' of the same thing (i.e.of linguistic sign), so that the one implies, and is implied, by the other, there is no danger that a description of a given language based on his linguistics will ignore either aspect. Such a description, in other words, would represent the 'whole' of a language as it were rather than merely one or the other aspect of it. If such a description were made the basis if the course of instruction, the latter would have a greater chance of enabling the pupils to use the target language for communication, than if the teaching were done according to a course of instruction that was based on such descriptions of the target language that ignored either one or the other aspect.

We have so far been discussing the possible contribution that Functional linguistics can make to the 'what' aspect of language teaching; we now finally come

to explore, in what follows, the possibility that Functional linguistics may have of being relevant to the 'how' aspect of language teaching.

While discussing the different approaches to language and language teaching in Chapter V, we said that the bias in this work was in the favour of the 'empiricist' position. That we merely had a bias, and did not necessarily accept or approve of the 'empiricist' - based approach to language teaching fully or uncritically was hinted at by the parenthetic statement that followed the observation mentioned above.[1] This statement, however needs further elaboration so as to make our position clear vis-a-vis structuralism and the teaching methods based on it. The main principles that underly the latter have been summed up by Moulton thus:[2]

a. "Language is speech, not writing".

b. "A language is a set of habits."

c. "Teach the language, not about the language".

d. "A language is what its native speakers say, not what someone thinks they ought to say".

e. "Languages are different".

---

[1] on page 159.

[2] W.G. Moulton, "Linguistics and Language Teaching in the United States: 1940-1960," Trends in European and American Linguistics: 1930-1960, C. Mohrmann, et al, (Utrecht: Spectrum Publishers, 1961), pp.82-109.

A careful glance at the foregoing principles would reveal that, taken individually, they present a picture of language that is either wholly distorted, or only partially correct. I shall try to explain this by discussing Moulton's formulation under b. (i.e. "A language is a set of habits.") in some detail; I shall also try to show if there is any way in which the functionalist approach as typified by Mulder can be of use in order to improve the situation.

The principle that "a language is a set of habits" is, as such, not wrong, but the very narrow sense in which the term''habit' has come to be used makes its validity rather doubtful. In its most contemporary form, this principle is represented by the behaviourist school of psychology.[1] The most important behaviorist today is B.F. Skinner. The main points that emerge from Skinner's observations with regard to language and its acquisition can be summed up as follows:

i. Language is a form of behaviour.

ii. Language learning involves "formation and performance of habits" through conditioning and drill, so that, once learned, it can be carried out without the conscious use of one's cognitive processes.

---

[1] The founder of this school was Watson, with whom "in 1913 ... psychology really emerged from its origins in philosophy to become a full-fledged scientific discipline." (Time Magazine, September 20, 1971).

iii. As such, learning of a language is not intrinsically different from the learning of any other skill - such as learning to play piano, or to drive a motor car, etc. - that is characterized as 'habit',

iv. Grammatical rules are merely descriptions of 'habits',

v. As language first manifests itself in children in spoken form, the latter has greater salience than the written form.

An important feature of the teaching methods having their bases in the approach outlined above is that the pupils are actively engaged in the class-room. But, as this activity consists mainly of an interminable series of listening - either to the teacher, if in the class-room, or to the tape, if in the language laboratory - imitating what one hears, without any accompanying syntactic or semantic explanation, this soon leads to a stage where these drills and pattern practices degenerate into an automatic but meaningless listening-imitating exercise. One consequence of this is that the learners lose interest, and this greatly increases the difficulty of making language teaching effective.

The tenets of functionalism offer some hope that at least some of the defects of the structuralist-based language courses can be removed. For example, functionalism regards communication as the main purpose of language,

and if a teaching course is based on a theory which incorporates this particular aspect of functionalism, then such a course could not lay such an excessive emphasis on meaningless drills and pattern practices. A certain amount of the latter are, it is true, needed to learn pronunciation and master patterns, but they need not be always meaningless, because, if the aim of the learners is to use the target language for communication, they will not be able to proceed very far with them.

Another way in which functionalism can help to improve the structural-based language courses is by its insistence that, synchronically speaking, there is no question of any one mode of language having any salience over the other. Each mode is an independent manifestation of language, and should be studied as such. As this particular aspect has already been dealt with in the earlier part of this chapter, I shall not go into any further detail.

The question of as to whether one should present the learner with a grammar, i.e. a model, a description, hinges on whether one considers it correct to assume the following points:

(i) a native speaker acquires within himself a grammar, a kind of description (between inverted commas), a model of his language.

(ii) the learner of an L-2 can only partly, and after long practice, be expected to acquire such a model;

(iii) it could therefore be useful to present him with a model as a substitute that as much as possible can fulfil the same function, even though one may not think that a native speaker's model is to any extent of the same kind. The only relevant point is that the linguist's model to a certain extent can substitute for a native speaker's model;

(iv) a consistent, adequate, and simple model, is - though not necessarily better than a no matter how inconsistent native speaker's model - likely to be better than a model set up in an intuitive way;

(v) therefore one needs a model, i.e. a description, arrived at via a powerful linguistic theory.

Functional linguistics, as I have argued, is mainly interested in those aspects of language that have immediately to do with communication, and this is the most relevant aspect of linguistic behaviour. Axiomatic Functionalism, which is a modern off-shoot of Functionalism, sets itself the highest standards of consistency, adequacy, and simplicity, and provides - therefore - potentially the best basis for such a model. The fact that it does not claim to do this should not be held against it. Other schools, for example T.G., have claimed it, but there is, in my opinion, no logical or practical evidence that they can fulfil these promises.

Axiomatic Functionalism should, at least logically speaking, be able to fulfil this aim. Whether it can do so in practice has further to be investigated, but experiments to that effect would, in my opinion, be very worthwhile indeed.

APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES:BASED ON GRIERSON'S LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

A. FAMILY	B. MAIN LANGUAGES	C. DIALECTS
1. Austric	1. Santhali & Khasi	Santhali and Khasi
2. Dravidian	2. Brahui	Brahui
	3. South Indian	Tamil, Malayalam, Telegu, Kanarese
3. Indo-European	4. Kafir Tongues	Kalash (black) Bashgali (red)
a)Dardic Branch	5. Kashmiri	Kashmiri
	6. Khowar	Khowar,Chitrali, Arandri, Dandarik, Damell, Jadri, Biyar, Malolo, Gididi, Kashkari
	7. Kohistani	Kohistani, Giyari, Ajari, Torwati, Kalami
b)European Branch	8. English	English
c)Indo-European Branch	9. Assamese	Assamese
	10. Bengali	Bengali, Chittagonian, Sylhetta,Chakma, Hajong
	11. Gujarati	Gujarati
	12. Hindi	Hindi,Hindustani, Bihari(non-Muslim)
	13. Marathi	Marathi,Thakri
	14. Oriya	Oriya
	15. Punjabi	Punjabi,Multani, Lahnda,Bahawalpuri, Derawali,Jafirki, Khetrani,Dogra, Pahari
	16. Rajasthani	Rajasthani,Maiwati, Marwari,Jaipuri,Ajmeri, Bikaniri,Rajputani, Kathewari,Bhili

A. FAMILY	B. MAIN LANGUAGES	C. DIALECTS
	17. Sindhi	Sindhi, Jattki, Seraiki Lassi, Thareli, Dhatki, Kachhi
	18. Urdu	Urdu, Hindustani, Bihari (Muslim).
d)Iranian Branch	19. Baluchi	Baluchi, Makrani, Makrani-Kechi
	20. Persian	Persian, Dehwani, Yargha, Badakshani, Lorichini
	21. Pushto	Pushto,Afghani, Kabuli, Pathani
4. Semetic	22. Arabic	Arabic
5. Tibeto-Chinese	23, Arakanese	Arakanese,Maghi,Murung
	24. Burmese	Burmese
	25. Other Assam-Burman Tongues	Manipuri, Garo, Lushai, Ttipuri

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The works that have been referred to in this thesis are marked with an asterisk. Other works that have been included in this list are the ones that have been consulted during the course of writing this thesis and found useful.

Aims and Techniques: Language-Teaching Methods and their Comparative Assessment. London: C.I.L.T., 1969.

*Aarsleff, H. "The History of Linguistics and Professor Chomsky", Language, XXXXVI (1970), 570-586.

*Alatis, J.E.(ed.). Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications, Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21, Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1968.

Allen, H.B. "Applied Linguistics and the Teaching of English in the U.S.," Linguistic Reporter, IV (1962), 2-4.

_____ (ed.). Readings in Applied English Linguistics. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964.

_____ (ed.). Teaching English as a Second Language; Book of Readings. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

*Allen, W.S. and R. Cooke. Living English for the Arab World. London: Longmans, 1967.

*Bahlsen, L. The Teaching of Modern Languages. Trans. M.B. Evans, Boston, 1905.

*Bailey, C.N. "Review of J.W.F. Mulder's Sets and Relations in Phonology: An Axiomatic Approach to the Description of Speech," Language, XXXXVI (1970), 671-686.

Baltaxe, C. Trubetzkoy and the Development of the Theory of Distinctive Features. Ph.D. Thesis, Los Angeles: California University, 1970.

*Bennet, W.A.J. Aspects of Language and Language Teaching. London: C.U.P., 1968.

*Berlitz, M.D. Method Berlitz. New York: Berlitz and Co., 1887.

Bibliography of Education in Pakistan, West Pakistan Bureau of Education, Government of West Pakistan. Lahore: Education Department, 1970.

*Billows, F.L. The Techniques of Language Teaching. London: Longmans, 1961.

Bloomfield, L. "A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language," Language, II (1926), 153-164.

*_____. Language. New York, 1933.

*Bopp, F. Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenen der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache, Nebst Episodes des Ramajan und Mahabharat in genauen metrischen Übersetzungen ... und einigen Abschnitten aus den Veda's. Frankfurt am main, 1816.

Bray, D. The Brahui Language. Delhi: Government of India, 1934.

*Brooks, N. Language and Language-Learning: Theory and Practice. New York: Harcourt-Brace and Co., 1964.

Burling, R. "Some Outlandish Proposals for the Teaching of Foreign Languages, "Language Learning, XVIII (June, 1968), 61-75.

Carroll, J.B. The Study of Language. Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953.

*_____. "Contrastive Analysis and Interference Theory," Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications. Ed. J.E. Alatis, Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21, Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1968, 113-122.

*Catford, J.C. A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics. London: O.U.P., 1965.

*_____. "Contrastive Linguistics and Language Teaching," Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications. Ed. J.E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21, Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1968, 159-173.

*Cartwright, B.O. The Students' Manual of Siamese Language. Rev.ed. Bangkok, 1930.

*Cheng, R.L. "Review of Mulder's Sets and Relations in Phonology: An Axiomatic Approach to the Description of Speech," Lingua, XXV (1970), 47-63.

Chomsky, N. Syntactic Structures. The Hague: Mouton, 1957.

*_____. "Review of B.F. Skinner's 'Verbal Behavior'," Language, XXXV (1959), 26-58.

_____. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965.

*_____. "Linguistic Theory", Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Ed. R.G. Mead. U.S.A.: George Banta Co., Inc., 1966.

*_____. "Topics in the Theory of Grammar", Current Trends in Linguistics III. Ed. T. Sebeok. The Hague: Mouton, 1966, 1-10.

_____. Cartesian Linguistics. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

*_____. Language and Mind. New York: Harcourt-Brace and World, 1968.

*Conwell, M.J. "Comment 3," Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications. Ed. J.E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21. Washington D.C.: G.U.P. 1968, 216-218.

*Cook, R.H.S. A Pilot English Language Survey for West Pakistan, 1968. (Under publication).

*Corder, S. Pit. "The Significance of Learner's Errors," I.R.A.L., V (1967), 161-170.

_____. "Idiosyncratic Dialects and Error Analysis, I.R.A.L., IX (1971), 147-159.

*De Courtenay, J. Proba teorji alternacyj fonetycznych. Cracow, 1894.

Crystal, D. What is Linguistics?. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd.; 1968.

Dakin, J., B. Tiffen and H.G. Widdowson, Language in Education. London: O.U.P., 1968.

*Dinneen, F.P. An Introduction to General Linguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967.

*Donoghue, M.R. (ed.). Foreign Languages and the Schools: A book of Reading. Iowa, 1967.

Doughty, P.S. The Relevance of Linguistics for the Teacher of English: (Paper1: Programme in Linguistics and Language Teaching). London: Longmans, 1968.

*Dunkel, H.B. Second Language Learning. U.S.A.: Ginn & Co., 1948.

Dutton, B. (ed.). Guide to Modern Language Teaching Methods. London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1965.

*Enríquez, B. The International and National Importance of English for Science and Technology. (Unpublished paper).

*Filipovic, R. Modern Linguistics and Foreign Language Teaching. (A summary of the Proceedings of the International Conference held in Budapest in April 1971), Contact 18/19, 1972, 8-16.

*Fisher, C. Commercial English Comprehension Passages. London: Longmans, 1968.

*Le Français Fondamental (I^{er} Degré). Institut National Pedagogique, Paris.

De Francis, J. (ed.). Report on the Second Round Table Meeting on Languages and Linguistics, Monograph Series I. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1951.

*French, F.G. The New Oxford English Course (East Africa). London: O.U.P., 1956-1961.

Fraser, H. and W.R. O'Donnell (ed.). Applied Linguistics and the Teaching of English. London: Longmans, 1969).

Fried, V. "The Prague School and Foreign Language Teaching", Acts Universitatis Carolinae-Philologica 3-Prague Studies in English, XI (1965), 15-32.

*_____. (ed.). The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching. London: O.U.P., 1972.

Fries, C.C. "An Investigation of Second Language Teaching", Language Learning, II (1949), 89-99.

*_____. Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1945.

*_____. "American Linguistics and the Teaching of English", Language Learning, VI (1965), 1-22.

*Gatenby, E.V. A Direct Method English Course. London: Longmans, 1960.

*Gilman, W. The Language of Science: A Guide to Effective Writing. London: The English Universities Press Ltd., 1962.

*Gouin, F. L'art d'enseigner et d'étudier les langues; Librairie Fischbacher. Paris, 1880. (Translated as "The Art of Teaching and Studying Language" by H. Swan and V. Betis, and published, in 1892, by George Philip and Son, London).

*Gourio, E. The Direct Method of Teaching French. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921.

*Grevisse, M. Précis de grammaire française. Duculot.

*Grierson, G. Linguistic Survey of India. 11 volumes, 1903-1922.

*Haas, M. "The Linguist as a Teacher of Language", Language, XIX (1943), 203-208.

_____. "The Application of Linguistics to Language Teaching", Anthropology Today. Ed. A.L. Kroeber. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953, 807-818.

*Halliday, M.A.K., A. McIntosh and P.D. Strevens. The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching. London: Longmans, 1964.

*Hammer, J.H. and F.A. Rice (ed.). A Bibliography of Contrastive Linguistics. Washington D.C.: C.A.L., 1965.

*Hamp, E. "What a Contrastive Linguistics Is Not, If It Is", Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications. Ed. J.E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21. Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1968, 137-147.

Harding, D.H. The New Pattern of Language Teaching. London: Longmans, 1967.

*Haugen, E. The Norwegian Language in America (Vol. I) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953.

*_____. Bilingualism in the Americans; A Bibliography and Research Guide. Publications of the American Dialect Society 26. Alabama, 1956.

*Havránek, B., et al. Sbornik otvetov na voprosy po jažykoznanijuk iv Mezdunarodnomu S' jezdu slavistov. Moscow, 1958.

*Healey, F.G. Foreign Language Teaching in the Universities. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967.

*Herbert, A.J. The Structure of Technical English. London: Longmans, 1965.

*Hervey, S.G.J. "Mulder's 'Axiomatic Linguistics': A Reply to C. Bailey's Review in Language 46/3". Lingua XXVIII (February, 1972), 348-379.

Hill, A.A. "Can Linguistics be made useful to teachers?", Language Learning IV, (1952-3), 117-123.

_____. (ed.). Report of the Fourth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 4. Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1953.

_____. "Who Needs Linguistics?", Report of the Ninth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study. Ed. P. Garvin. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1957, 75-86.

_____. "Linguistics and Language Teaching", Language Learning (Special Issue). (June, 1958).

_____. (ed.). Linguistics Today. ~~Basic Books~~. London: Basic Books Inc., 1969.

*Hjelmslev, L. Prolegomena to a Theory of Language. Trans. F.J. Whitfield. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1961.

*Hockett, C.F. "Review of Martinet's 'Phonology as Functional Phonetics'", Language 27, 1951, 333-342.

*_____. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York: Crowell Collier and Macmillan, Inc., 1958.

_____. The State of the Art. The Hague: Mouton, 1968.

*Hogben, L. The Vocabulary of Science. London: Heinemann, 1969.

Hughes, J.P. Linguistics and Language Teaching. New York: Random House, 1968.

*Ingram, E. "Age and Langyage Learning", Advances in the Teaching of Modern Languages. Ed. B. Libbish. London: Pergamon Press, 1964, 18-24.

Ivic, M. Trends in Linguistics. Trans. M. Heppell. The Hague: Mouton, 1965.

*Jakobovits, L.A. Foreign Language Learning. Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1970.

*Jakobson, R. and M. Halle. Fundamentals of Language. The Hague: Mouton, 1956.

*Jakobson, R. Selected Writings I, Phonological Studies. 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962.

Jalling, H. (ed.). Modern Language Teaching. London: O.U.P. 1968.

*James, C. "The Exculpation of Contrastive Linguistics", Papers in Contrastive Linguistics. Ed. G. Nickel. London: Cambridge University Press, 1971, 53-63.

*Jespersen, O. Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1947.

Joos, M. (ed.). Readings in Linguistics I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957.

*Katz, J. The Philosophy of Language. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

*_____ and P. Postal. An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions. Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964.

Kehoe, M. (ed.). Applied Linguistics: A Survey for Language Teachers. New York: Collier-Macmillan Teacher's Library, 1969.

Kelly, L.G. (ed.). Description and Measurement of Bilingualism. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

*Lado, R. Linguistics Across Cultures: Applied Linguistics for Language Teachers. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1957.

_____ and C.C. Fries. Intensive Course in English. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1958.

*Lado, R. Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

*_____. "Contrastive Linguistics in a Mentalistic Theory of Language Learning", Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications. Ed. J.E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21. Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1968, 123-135.

*Lakoff, R. "Transformational Grammar and Language Teaching", Language Learning, XIX (December, 1969), 117-140.

Lane, M. (ed.). Structuralism: A Reader. London: J. Cape, 1970

*Language and Machines: Computers in Translation and Linguistics, Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1967.

Lawler, J. and L. Selinker. "On Paradoxes, Rules and Research in Second Language Learning", Language Learning, XXI (1971). 27-44.

*Lee, W.R. "Thoughts on Contrastive Linguistics in the Context of Language Teaching", Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications. Ed. J.E. Alatis. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21. Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1968, 185-194.

*Leech, G.N. English in Advertising: A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain. London: Longmans, 1966.

*Lenard, Y. Parole et Pensee. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Lepschy, G.C. A Survey of Structural Linguistics. London: Faber and Faber, 1970.

*Levin, S.R. "Comparing Traditional and Structural Grammar", Readings in Applied English Linguistics. Ed. H.B. Allen, second edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofton, 1964, 46-55.

*Libbish, B. (ed.). Advances in the Teaching of Modern Languages. Vol. I. London: Pergamon Press, 1964.

Linguistic Theories and their Application. AIDELA: Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe, 1967.

*Lyons, J. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. London: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

_____. Chomsky. London: Fontana/Collins, 1970.

*Mackey, W.F. Language Teaching Analysis. London: Longmans, 1966.

*_____. "Applied Linguistics: Its meaning and Use", English Language Teaching, XX (1966), 197-206.

*Mackin, R. and A. Weinberger. El Ingles Para Medicos y Estudiantes de Medicina: Curso Rapido de Lectura. London: Longmans, 1960.

Mallinson, V. Teaching a Modern Language. London: Heinemann, 1963.

*Malmberg, B. New Trends in Linguistics: An Orientation. Trans. E. Carney, Stockholm, 1964.

Martinet, A. "Function, Structure and Sound Change", Word, VIII (1952), 1-32.

*_____. Phonology as Functional Phonetics. London: O.U.P., 1955.

*_____. La description Phonologigne avec application au parler franco-provencal d' Hauteville (Savoie). Paris: Société de publications Romanes et Française, LVI, 1956.

Martinet, A. "La Notion de neutralisation dans la morphologie et le lexique", Travaux de l'institut de linguistique, Vol. II, Paris, 1957.

_____. "Elements of a Functional Syntax", Word, XVI (1960), 1-10.

_____. A Functional View of Language. London: O.U.P., 1962.

*_____. Elements of General Linguistics. Trans. E. Palmer, London: Faber and Faber, 1964.

*Mauger, G. Grammaire pratique du francais d'aujourd 'hui. Paris: Hachette, 1968.

*McIntosh, A. and M.A.K. Halliday. Patterns of Language; Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics. London: Longmans, 1966.

*McNally, J. and W. Murray. Key Words of Literacy: a basic word list for developing early reading and writing skills. London: Schoolmaster Publishing Co., 1962.

*Mohrmann, C., A. Sommerfelt and J. Whatmough. Trends in European and American Linguistics: 1930-1960. Utrecht:Spectrum Publishers, 1961.

*Moulton, W.G. "Linguistics and Language Teaching in the U.S.: 1940-1960", Trends in European and American Linguistics: 1930-1960. Ed.C. Mohrmann, et al. Utrecht: Spectrum Publishers, 1961, 82-109.

*_____. "Linguistics and Language Teaching in the United States: 1940-1960", I.R.A.L., I (1963), 21-28.

*Mulcahy, E.W. "Survival of the English Language as a Binding Force in India and Pakistan", Ninth Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, Washington D.C., April 1967. (Mimeograph)

Mulder, J.W.F. "Some Operations with Sets in Language", Foundations of Language, I (1965), pp.14-29.

*_____, and H.A. Hurren. "The English Vowel Phonemes from a functional point of view and a statement of their distribution", La Linguistique, (1968), 43-60.

*Mulder, J.W.F. Sets and Relations in Phonology: An Axiomatic Approach to the Description of Speech. London: O.U.P., 1968.

*_____. "On the Art of Definition, The Double Articulation of Language and Some of the Consequences", Forum for Modern Language Studies, V (April, 1969), 103-117.

_____. "Linguistic Sign, Word and Grammateme, La Linguistique, VII (1971), 93-101.

*_____ and S.G.J. Hervey. "Index and Signum" Semiotica, IV (1971), 324-338.

*_____. Theory of the Linguistic Sign. The Hague: Mouton, 1972.

Newmark, L. and D.A. Reibel. "Necessity and Sufficiency in Language Learning", I.R.A.L. VI (1968).

Ney, J.W. "Transformational Generative Theories of Language and the Role of Conditioning in Language Learning", Language Learning, XXI (1971), 63-73.

*Nickel, G. "Contrastive Linguistics and Some Pedagogical Implications", Contact, (XV (July, 1970), 17-22.

*_____ (ed.). Papers in Contrastive Linguistics. London: C.U.P., 1971.

_____ and K.H. Wagner. "Contrastive Linguistics and Language Learning", I.R.A.L., VI (1968), 232-255.

*Nida, E.A., Learning a Foreign Language: A Handbook Prepared Especially for Missionaries. New York: Friendship Press, 1957.

*O'Brien, R.J. Georgetown University Round Table Selected Papers on Linguistics: 1961-1965. Washington D.C.: G.U.P., 1968.

Le Page, R.B. The National Language Question, London: O.U.P. 1964.

*_____. "Possible Roles for English" (an unpublished paper, read in Dublin in March 1965 at the International Conference on Second Language Problems.)

*Palmer, E.H. The Scientific Study of Teaching of Languages. New York: World Book Co., 1917.

*Pattison, B. "Psychological Aspects in Language Learning", Modern Languages, XLV (March), 1964.

*The Peak Series, London: O.U.P., 1961-1966.

Perren, G. and J. Trim (ed.). Applications Of Linguistics. London: C.U.P., 1971.

Perren, G. and M.F. Holloway, Language and Communication in the Commonwealth. London: H.M.S.O., 1965.

*Pike, K.L. "Interpretation of Phonology, Morphology and Syntax", Proceedings of Eighth International Congress Of Linguists, Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1958, 363-370.

*Pincas, A. "Structural Linguistics and Systematic Composition Teaching to Students of English as a Foreign Language", Language Learning, XII (1965).

*Pitman, G.A. Preparatory Technical English. London: Longmans.

*Politzer, R.L. Teaching French: An Introduction to Applied Linguistics. New York: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1965.

*Project de la terminologie phonologique standardisée", T.C.L.P., IV (1931).

Recent Developments in Modern Language Teaching. Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Strasbourg: Europe, 1964.

*Report of the Unesco Meeting. Paris: U.N.E.S.C.O., 1951.

*Report of the Commission on National Education. Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1959.

*Report of the Census Commission. Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1961.

*Resolution No. F.16-9/58-E.III, Ministry of Education. Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1958.

*Richard, P.M. and W. Hall, Anglais Seconde langue, Classe de 4eme, Paris: Hachette, 1960.

*Ritchie, W.C. "Some Implications of Generative Grammar for the Construction of Courses in English as a Foreign Language", Language Learning, XVII (1967), 45-131

*Rivers, W.M. The Psychologist and the Foreign Language Teacher. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960.

*Robins, R.H. A short History of Linguistics. London: Longmans, 1967.

*De Saussure, F. Memoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européenes, Leipzig, 1879.

*_____. Cours de Linguistique Générale. Ed. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye. Paris: Payot, 1949.

*_____. Course in General Linguistics. Ed. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye. Trans. Wade Baskin, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

*Sauveur, L. Introduction to the Teaching of Living Languages without Grammar or Dictionary. New York: F.W. Christern, 1875.

*De Sauzé, E.B. The Cleveland Plan for the Teaching of Modern Languages with Special Reference to French. Philadelphia: J.C. Winston Co., 1929.

*Scope: An Introductory Course for Immigrant Children (various stages). London: Books for Schools Ltd. 1969.

*Sharp, H. (ed.). Selections from Educational Records, Part I. Bureau of Education, 1920.

*Shatluck, M. and W. Barnes. The Situation as Regards English. Washington D.C.: Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association, 1936.

Spolsky, B. "Linguistics and Language Pedagogy - Applications or Implications?". Contrastive Linguistics and its Pedagogical Implications. Ed. J.E. Alatis, Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 21, Washington D.C.: G.U.P. 1968, 143-156.

*Strevens, P.D. Papers in Language and Language Teaching, London: O.U.P., 1965.

*Thornley, C. Scientific English Practice. London: Longmans.

Titone, R. Teaching Foreign Languages: An Historical Sketch. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1968.

*Trubetzkoy, N.S. Principles of Phonology. Translated by C.A.M. Baltaxe, Berkley: University of California Press, 1969.

*Ulibarri, S.R. "Children and a Second Language," Teaching English as a second Language; A book of Readings. Ed. H.B. Allen. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965, 314-317.

*Vachek, J.A. (ed.). A Prague School Reader in Linguistics. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964.

*_____ "Phoneme and Phonological Units," A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, Ed. J. Vachek. Bloomington: I.U.P. 1964, 143-9.

*_____. The Linguistic School of Prague, I.U.P. Bloomington, 1966.

Valdman, A. Trends in Language Teaching. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

*Verburg, P.A. "The Background to the Linguistic Conceptions of Bopp", Lingua, II (1950), 438-468.

*Vygotskiy, L.S. Thought and Language. Ed. and trans. E. Hanfmann and G. Vakar. Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965.

*Wadia, A.R. The Future of English in India. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1954.

*Wallwork, J.F. Language and Linguistics. An Introduction to the Study of Language. London: Heinemann, 1970.

*Waterman, J.T. Perspectives in Linguistics. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963.

*Weinreich, U. Languages in Contact. New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, I (1953).

*Wilkins, D.A. Linguistics in Language Teaching. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1972.

*_____, "Review of Valdman's Trends in Language Teaching", I.R.A.L., VI. (1968), 99-107.